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The Canadian Historical Review

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LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

INTRODUCTION

IN its issue of last December, the REVIEW printed a list of historical societies throughout Canada with short notes indicating their activities. This was the first attempt, so far as we are aware, to bring together information of this character and we believe from comments which have been received that most of our readers were surprised at the extent and importance of the work which is being accomplished. Over sixty societies were included in the list, and, although they are not all equally active, it is quite apparent that the sum total of their efforts constitutes year by year an invaluable contribution to the study of Canadian history. From the very nature of its interests the local society is likely to work in an atmosphere of isolation which is a loss both to the society and to those who would profit by its work. The REVIEW wishes to contribute something towards overcoming this difficulty and it believes this is possible by continuing to publish in each issue items regarding the activities of the individual societies. In particular it wishes to make mention of printed articles or other publications of societies or individuals so that these may be included in the annual indices and thus be brought to the attention of a larger body of students than might otherwise be the case.

It was felt that an article bearing on the activities of local societies from various points of view would be of interest. The result is the following article by four contributors whose generous co-operation the REVIEW has been most fortunate in securing. Mr. Harvey, archivist of Nova Scotia, was formerly on the staff of the University of Manitoba, and head of the department of history in the University of British Columbia. Mr. Louis Blake Duff of Welland, Ontario, has taken an active interest in the work of local societies. The short descriptions of the work of local societies in England and the United States are by two

historians whose names are widely known on both sides of the Atlantic, Professor F. M. Powicke of Oxford and Professor Dixon Ryan Fox of Columbia University.

THE IMPORTANCE OF LOCAL HISTORY IN THE WRITING
OF GENERAL HISTORY

THE term general history is usually restricted to such writings as deal with mankind as a whole or with men and women who have made an impression upon the whole world of thought and action; and this leaves to local history all men and movements that have been confined to one country, state, province, or smaller political sub-division. Under general history, in this sense, would be classified not only such works as are entitled universal or world history, but also such efforts as, Draper, *History of the intellectual development of Europe*; Lecky, *History of the rise and influence of the spirit of rationalism in Europe*; Bury, *Idea of progress*; Spengler, *Decline of the west*; and Friedell, *A cultural history of the modern age*. Under local history, then, must come all national histories, even when they extend to many volumes, such as, *A political history of England*, *The American nation series*, or *Canada and its provinces*, because these confine themselves almost entirely to the struggles and achievements of particular peoples, without attempting to discover general experiences common to all mankind.

It is clear that these two species of history will differ greatly and that the local historians will outnumber the general historians many thousands to one. If the two species may be regarded as merging in the centre of a pyramid, the general historians will be at the apex and the local historians at the base; and it will be seen that many local historians must have lived and died before one general historian could undertake to write an adequate general history; for the latter cannot discern the common underlying principles of human endeavour unless he has read and reflected upon the characteristic features of the various peoples who have succeeded one another in man's long upward march. Nor, even when he has noted the similar or dissimilar features of this struggle, has he necessarily got the whole story; for, on the borderlands of various phases of national life as on the borderlands of various nations, struggles have ensued which have modified movements within a nation, modified international life, and produced some-

thing very different from either the aggregate of national lives or the sum of their differences.

The chief function of the local historian is to provide the general historian with verified and verifiable facts about their smaller fields and with the most discerning interpretation of these facts that they can offer, in order that, by comparing, contrasting, and reconciling these, the general historian may fit them into his scheme of history as a whole. It is characteristic of the local historian that no incident or phase of history is negligible. With commendable zeal he traces every settler from his origin to his destination. He notes the physical basis of his community, the beginnings of social, educational, and religious organization, the first contact with larger groups, the impact of outside forces, and the final merging into national life. Because he can make such an intensive study of a small group, if he is capable of accurate observation and some degree of reasoning, he cannot fail to provide some of the elements out of which first a national and then a world history may be compounded, by which some aspect of human effort may be illustrated.

But, having recognized the fact that a strict classification places national histories amongst local histories, for the purposes of this short article, I must regard Canadian history as analogous to general history, and the story of a province, county, township, or locality, in which an intensive study of the people in all their activities is possible, as the local history *par excellence*. This departure from my own definition is made necessary by the variety of physical features within the dominion—the varied origins of the peoples that are being amalgamated into the Canadian nation, and the different histories of the provinces that form the dominion and have to be shown as converging into the one stream that since Confederation has been called the history of Canada. It is necessary, also, because to a local historical society even the history of a province seems to be general history, when compared with the intimate and detailed narrative of a county or township or similar subdivision.

It is important to recognize that the distinction between the local and general historians is not necessarily in the quality of their work but in the nature of their subject. Nor is the restricted local field unworthy of the trained historian. In fact, until local history is compiled by trained historians, it will tend to be cluttered up by meaningless details. At the same time, until local history is written in greater detail, it will be impossible to write a general

history that will give meaning to Canadian national effort: or, to be more specific, until the histories of the Canadian provinces have been written in detail, no comprehensive general history of Canada can be written; and, until fuller and more accurate county or group histories have been written, no accurate provincial history can be undertaken. The local historian must give detailed accurate knowledge. The general historian must select common or differentiating movements, must place them in perspective, and treat them in due proportion to their national importance.

Though it cannot be argued that their historical equipment is necessarily different, or that local interest kills the generalizing spirit, it can be said with justice that one cannot spend long hours on the drudgery of detailed local research and at the same time keep untrammelled the speculative range of the general historian. A glance at Kingsford's *History of Canada* or Murdoch's *History of Nova Scotia* will show that a conscientious, indefatigable annalist may produce ponderous *tomes* of excellent but disorganized material, without discernment and without light. It may be that these men were lacking in the historical equipment, but not entirely. They had many qualifications: interest, industry, respect for source material, awareness of the inter-relations of history, and moral honesty. Perhaps they also had a sense of proportion and a desire for perspective; but even if they possessed these virtues, their trees obscured their wood; and, whether dulled by drudgery or smothered by detail, they attempted both too much and too little. Had they limited their fields or rewritten their histories, after fuller reflection upon the mass of facts that they had assembled, they might have produced a finished building instead of throwing upon the market several carloads of brick and mortar. But they were pioneers in research; and, therefore, let us pay a tribute to what they have done, before holding them up to the local historian of the future, as both an example and a warning; for it is obvious that, if we are to do better in future, we must adopt the principle of specialization, and leave to the local historian his local field, while calling upon the general historian to utilize his findings.

But, even when this differentiation in function is made between the local and the general historians of Canada, it should not be assumed that the competent local historian can divest himself of the speculative faculty any more than the general historian can be indifferent to characteristic local interests and problems. This difference is a matter of degree.

It has been said that all history is one history. This may mean many things but to me it means that a thorough understanding of some section or phase of history requires an investigation of all its roots and branches and takes one far afield from the original starting point. Thus, if I am to understand the township in Nova Scotia, I must study not only the local manifestations of this politico-economical, social, and religious unit in Nova Scotia but must trace it in a less modified form to its home in New England, and then back across the Atlantic to its Tudor home, from which it was first transplanted. Arrived in England, I must go back to the Anglo-Saxon township or village and see it wed by Christianity to the parish. After that, why not visit Rome or Ephesus and see whence Christianity itself came to England? If I go, whether in fact or in imagination, all history is becoming one history and the local historian is merging, in a sense, into the general historian.

But, let us pause for a moment and see the historians at work. At the base of the pyramid, rebuilding the foundations of our history, are the local historians, working more or less spasmodically, spurred on by family interest or tradition or by civic pride. They may produce only a genealogical tree of their own family or a group of families, partly from tradition, partly from local deeds, marriage licences, baptismal registers, and death certificates, whether found in the family attic or the family bible. They may write biographical sketches or the history of a township, with lists of the original settlers, their origins and later fortunes. They may tell of the first saw-mill, the first residence, the first town-meeting, the first town officers, the first fire-brigade, the first epidemic, the first church and school, and the first branch road connecting them with the outside world. All these things have a local interest and may be designed merely to gratify personal curiosity; but if they are well described, they are of value.

When the same thing has been done for a number of townships, the county historian may emerge; and he, freed from the drudgery of mastering the smaller unit, may place the townships in historical sequence, avoid the frequent repetition of common experiences, discuss the larger political, legal, religious, and educational arrangements, and give an intelligent county history in as few pages as may have been devoted to a single township.

The provincial historian now comes forward and just as the county historian could delete and condense, so with the provincial historian. His materials will be found both in the county

histories and at the provincial archives. With minutes of council, general correspondence, journals of the legislature, miscellaneous papers and reports, he can analyze the problems with which the governing bodies concerned themselves. As he comes upon the problems of settlement, the formation of townships, the organization of counties, and the petitions that flow in a constant stream to the legislature, he can consult his township and county histories to see the effects of government upon the character of a people and the influence of a people upon the character of its government. Thus with both secondary and source material at his disposal he can select a few subjects and amplify them in a single readable volume that will tell the general Canadian historian all that he needs for compiling his work. If, for example, the provincial historian discusses the physical features of his province, the original inhabitants, the later inhabitants, their reactions to their environment, their economic condition and development, communications, the organization of government in its three aspects, executive, legislative, and judicial, provision for education and for religious observance, the growth of newspapers, literature, and the arts through which the people express themselves; and, if he gives a connected account of all these, paying the necessary attention to leading or picturesque characters and incidents in their proper setting, he will have done all that has been expected of him and more than has yet been done.

When all these local historians have done their work and the solid base of the pyramid has been built up to the centre, our general historians must be called upon to act. While we have been waiting, a number of them have been producing histories that were general in aim if not in fact. By writing a detailed history of one or two provinces and casually alluding to others, they have erected a local history into a pseudo-general history. But, with accurate provincial histories to draw upon, there would be no excuse for the local limitations of the general historian. Yet, he will have to be as ruthless as the Canadian climate. When he sets his mind to work on a *Canadian* history, he will be surprised how the space devoted to Carleton and Simcoe will diminish when room has to be found for the "fathers" of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Cape Breton, Manitoba, Vancouver Island, British Columbia, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. He will also be surprised to discover, when adequate provincial histories have been written, how each of the great Canadians will shrink, when relative justice has been

done to other provincial figures, hitherto overshadowed by the few whose careers have been exalted out of all proportion in the *Makers of Canada*. He will also be surprised how much paper and ink can be saved, when the repetition of material and duplication of effort, that were made in the *Makers of Canada* and *Canada and its provinces*, have been avoided. When he has reflected upon the common problems and experiences of each of the older provinces of Canada, and upon the new factors that were introduced by the incorporation of western Canada into the dominion, he can select and amplify and differentiate the few fundamental characteristics and achievements that were evolved in the pre-Confederation era and merged into the national life.

The general historian, who deals with the physical features of Canada, would not feel justified in describing Ontario and Quebec, and but casually alluding to the other seven provinces. Nor, in discussing the Indians of Canada, would he feel justified in featuring the Indians of the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes region, while ignoring the Indians of the plains and the seaboards. Therefore, in continuing his history, he must select problems common to all, though differing in detail; and he must point out these significant differences, just as he does with the physical features and with the aborigines. All the Canadian provinces had to be discovered, explored, peopled, governed, and ultimately cemented, however loosely, into one. The general historian must note the process of discovery and exploration from sea to sea; the origins of the various people in all the provinces; government, legislation, religion, education, with provincial variations. He must discuss economic problems, the movement for self-government and the question of imperial relations, in the same way; and he cannot interpret Confederation by merely dividing the honours among Macdonald, Brown, Cartier, and Galt. After Confederation, the problem of generalising upon Canadian history is comparatively simple: because even the Manitoba school question and the Beauharnois project become national problems, that must be dealt with by the central government and discussed by every intelligent citizen of Canada.

These observations, even if taken at less than par, may serve to show how important is the work of the local historian and the local historical society, provided that their energies are properly directed. If the general historian is ever to go beyond the vaguest generalisations in regard to the effects in Canada of the Quebec Act, the local historians of Quebec must furnish full

and specific information as to the attitude of seigneur, priest, and habitant towards this act. If he is to discuss the actual or potential invasion during the American Revolution, the local historians must investigate and recount all the American activities in both Quebec and the Maritime Provinces. If he is to do justice to pre-Loyalists, Loyalists, and Scots, the local historians must make careful and detailed analysis of all these elements of the population, in all the older provinces before Confederation. Merely to publish a list of so called Loyalists is not enough. There must be distinction between refugees and Loyalists, between Loyalists and disbanded troops, between those who entered Canada by land and those who came by water, between those who were loyal by instinct, necessity, or through hope of gain, and between those who were educated and those who made their *mark*. Further, their later settlement, migration and, in some cases, desertion, must be investigated before the general historian, with a clear conscience, can offer better generalisations in regard to character, motive, number, and contribution than those with which we have had to be content until the present day.

Perhaps, it is in the life histories of individuals and of groups that the local societies can make the greatest contribution in future. Within each province, they can revive something of the perspective in which each generation viewed its leaders; and establish some just system of comparison between the leaders of each generation, so that one or two men shall not receive all the credit for what many toiled to achieve. They can provide innumerable biographies from which the general historian can distil the essence. Likewise they can follow the migration of individuals, families, and groups, in the earlier days, from America and Europe to Canada proper and the Maritime Provinces: the Loyalists from Shelburne to Guysborough and Charlottetown, from Quebec to Cape Breton, and from New Brunswick to Upper Canada or back to the United States and Great Britain, the Scots from Pictou to Antigonish, from Prince Edward Island to Cape Breton, from Canada to Prince Edward Island, and from the Red River settlement to Canada. In the later nineteenth century, and the present century, each of the eastern provinces has a story to tell of migration to western Canada; and each of the western provinces has its story to tell of the arrival of these people and of their assimilation. The local societies of the western provinces have a tremendously profitable field of investigation in the great variety of racial and national groups that

have poured into those areas in the last half century, bringing with them their virtues and their vices. If the historical societies undertook to put flesh and blood on the skeleton of information provided by the periodic statistics of the census, they would confer a lasting boon upon the general historian, and they would enable him to fit western Canadian history into his historical plan; at the same time they would enable him to do justice to the influence that western Canada has had upon Canadian policy, both national and international, since 1867.

In a word, it is the exclusive privilege and the obvious duty of local historians to explore minutely every avenue of their provincial life, to clear up the local aspects of every problem, in order that the general historian may understand the character and significance of each provincial history and blend the movements of the nine provinces into one harmonious national symphony. Moreover, the local historian should walk with a firm step, conscious that his part is one of fundamental importance.

D. C. HARVEY

THE PROBLEMS AND OPPORTUNITIES OF CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.¹

THE local historical society is made up of a group resident in a restricted area, and its labours are thus confined within its geographical limits. National history, national events, national figures are outside its ken except to the degree that they relate to the area. In this Niagara peninsula, for instance, to which the writer belongs, we have nothing to do with the story of the American Civil War, except that it brought in its trail not a few problems such as "bounty jumpers", runaway slaves, and the trading of the good Canadian five dollar bills for sachels full of American greenbacks. The Fenian Raid, on the other hand, although it was an international event of both interest and importance, touches particularly the Niagara region because so much of its drama (and comedy) was enacted on the soil of this peninsula. The Rebellion of 1837 was a national event of prime importance, with international repercussions, but much of its story falls within the

¹The items on local societies printed in the Notes and Comments section of each issue of the REVIEW are an indication of what is being done and as time goes on will constitute an increasingly valuable, permanent record of the work of local societies in all parts of the country.

purview of the peninsula's history, for across these fields Mackenzie made his flight, here came the forces of McNab, yonder is Navy Island, the headquarters, and there the pathetic skeleton of St. Johns, where issued a sequel to '37—the insurrection in the Short Hills.

In the main, however, the local society is not at all of the main stream, carrying the commerce of a nation's history, but rather a rivulet draining the hills and valleys of its little scene, and feeding the mighty river. There are over sixty such societies in Canada and when they have done their work the general historian will have so many sources of plenty, to yield value to his general conclusions, wealth of detail, and richness in his background. History has no rubbish heap, wrote Thomas Beer recently, and that is true enough. Each fact, even if trivial in itself, illustrates something in the story of its day. Are you writing an economic history of Canada? Well, Overholt was robbed of \$2,500 at Fonthill on a June night of '38 because he thought the risk of hoarding balanced the risk of travel for the nearest bank was forty miles away. Would you write of the habits and customs of past generations? In that case, local history is an inexhaustible source even though it may take more than one item to give a fair picture: when the quarter sessions of a certain district in Upper Canada met one September day every justice in the session was a new appointee, and a search elsewhere will reveal that those of the June panel were under charge of being disorderly after imbibing not wisely but too well. Have you in mind a treatise on municipal government? Then the history of Brockville for 1832 is the most revealing of the early floodlights. And so it goes.

A biographer (N. Benton Paradise) wrote a short time ago: "A period of great achievement can after all be more profitably studied through its lesser figures than through its outstanding men." Is it not true, as well, of periods of small achievement, of but moderate achievement, and of no achievement whatever? Great men rise to the surface but the eddies and the currents carry them. Great events emerge from their eddies and currents, too.

What is the purpose of the local historical society? To preserve. That at least is the final object. There may be many avenues leading to this, useful and helpful in themselves (even a pink tea), but their ultimate value will be determined solely by their contribution to the work of preservation. Before keeping, of course, there must be finding, and the tasks of scholarship lie in between.

Undoubtedly the best preservation is by the printed word. That sort of word finds voice by unnumbered firesides, in studies, in libraries, public and private. Its call awaits the student yet unborn. Its permanence makes it the property of the ages. A society, like that of old Niagara, for instance, with forty publications to its credit, has, indeed, erected its most worthy monument. How many phases of the past are mirrored in these volumes could not well be computed, for history is a complicated criss-cross arising out of events, lives, purposes, and movements that are themselves a criss-cross. The point need not be laboured further than to say that the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW in 1931 listed nine hundred publications under the head of local history. The rivulets are many. Monuments, the marking of historical sites, the restoration and care of old buildings, the collections in local museums, the preservation and organization of written or painted records—these, too, give body and permanence to the story of the past. Every implement is worthy of use and it might be well to suggest here the proper aims of a local historical society, and to give some illustrations of the success of local societies in their work.

One society, generous in its aims, has as its objects: "To engage in the collection, preservation, exhibition and publication of materials for the study of history; to this end studying the archæology of the County, acquiring documents and manuscripts, obtaining narratives and records of pioneers, conducting a library of historical reference, maintaining a gallery of historical portraiture and an ethnological and historical museum, publishing and otherwise diffusing information relative to the history of the County, and, in general, encouraging and developing within this County the study of history." Not all of these things have been achieved, but, at any rate, there is the star, and there is the ladder, ready to be hitched to it. This sample constitution sets out fairly what a local society should aim to do.

How are these things to be done? How have they been done? Some admirable work has been accomplished in the western provinces, especially in collecting accounts of pioneers in various communities, most of whom would leave no record unless they were encouraged to do so by those interested in local history. The passing of one generation puts an end for all time to the opportunity of adding this invaluable contribution to the annals of the country, and the west may well profit from the example of the eastern provinces where too often the opportunity was neglected. It is of interest to note that the Historical and Scientific Society

of Manitoba, founded in the 1870's, takes its place among the older societies of the dominion.

The Province of Quebec has three societies with a continuous record of activity unequalled in any other part of the dominion: the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec founded in 1824; the Société Historique de Montréal founded in 1857; and the Antiquarian and Numismatic Society of Montreal founded in 1862. Several local societies have recently been established. The parish and family records of the province are a rich mine of source material, and valuable work is being done on them by individuals who are inspired by a genuine attachment to their communities and the life of the people. The provincial archives, under the very able direction of Mr. Pierre Georges Roy, gives a lead to this work: its annual reports and the monthly *Bulletin des recherches historiques* are largely devoted to local history and constitute probably the most important continuous contribution to the subject at present being made in the dominion. In the Maritime Provinces a most important advance has recently been made in the erection of very fine buildings for the provincial archives of Nova Scotia at Halifax and for the provincial museum of New Brunswick at St. John. Undoubtedly their influence will be a great encouragement to the work of the local societies. The New Brunswick Historical Society, the New Brunswick Loyalists' Society, and the Nova Scotia Historical Society have a record of activity running back into the last century. The Historical Association of Annapolis Royal has done excellent work largely under the inspiration of Mr. L. M. Fortier in the restoration of Fort Anne and in the establishment of a museum.

But my illustrations must relate primarily to the work in Ontario, for with few exceptions I am not familiar with the work of societies in the other provinces. In the list of permanent historical collections that at Niagara comes first to mind, builded with the capable and loving hands of Janet Carnochan, now stilled. Miss Carnochan, it must be admitted, had a particularly rich soil in which to delve. Next in interest and value is the museum at Collingwood, a veritable treasure-house of Huronia, now crowding its quarters and bulging its walls. Here, as at Niagara, and, indeed, as is usually the case, a single enthusiast is responsible for the enterprise. Helpers may be worthy and willing but the exhibition usually owes its character and even its very existence to the obsession of one person. In Collingwood it is Mr. David Williams. In Kitchener, again, it is Mr. W. H. Breithaupt.

Creditable exhibitions have also been started in Brantford and more recently in St. Catharines, and St. Thomas is, I understand, shortly to join these ranks with a museum building of its own. In Simcoe the Norfolk Historical Society has provision for a permanent museum and the nucleus of an exhibit. These exhibitions have no more useful or interesting services to perform than the preservation for posterity of the furniture, implements, and utensils of pioneer times. Canada is a young country; in much of it pioneer days are not far away, yet how many of the rising generation would be able to identify at sight either an ox-shoe or an ox-yoke?

In planning a permanent exhibition or even in making a simple collection there are two valuable groups of source material that are frequently overlooked and which seldom receive the attention that is their due. One of these is the business records available in the district. Even a ledger may tell a story. I have seen the shop books of one local business man of a century and a quarter ago. How strange now seem his voyages to Spain for goods. Other days; other ways. The ledgers of another local merchant of the 'teens of the last century show that he yearly lifted £3000 from his till to go to Montreal to buy goods. They show, too, that on some commodities his profit reached as high as one hundred per cent. Adam Fergusson, for the enlightenment of his brother Scotsman, published in 1834 two volumes of his observations in Canada and the United States. Would you know what it cost to buy a baby's cradle or a kitchen chair, the wages of a "hired man", or the tariff of the country inn? You will find it there—a curious and most interesting compilation. What did men sell in the by-gone days, what did men buy, what did they pay, and how did they pay? That is part of the tale that business records tell and every scrap should be preserved.

The other group consists of the products of the local press, and chief of these is the newspaper itself. The aim should be, of course, complete files, but where this is not possible all available copies should be gathered and bound. These papers have their value not alone in the fact that their "run-of-mill" is history in itself, but also because so many articles are to be found where the writer set out consciously to tell the historical facts that they might be preserved in the printed page. If all the issues of all the newspapers had been preserved our store of historical knowledge would be very considerably enriched. Let us make the best of what copies we have and what copies we can get.

It is unnecessary, in this connection, to put stress upon the value of pictures and documents. Their place has been very generally recognized.

Each society of energy and enterprise will find in its area some special work to do, a work pressed upon it by special circumstance. In Waterloo County this urge found expression in a "pioneer tower" overlooking the Grand River at the spot where the first settlement was made. It is, perhaps, as fine a permanent tribute to the memory of the pioneer as is found in this country. In this connection one is forced to think of the Perth society. Here the centenary of the opening of the Huron road, Dunlop's road, was marked by a celebration that covered sixty miles of roadway, with decorated cities, towns, and villages, decorated farm-houses and farm-gates. Numerous cairns were unveiled, the first at Fryfogle's Inn near Shakespeare on the east, and the last in memory of Galt and Dunlop, in the Goderich they founded. Here was an enterprise that has, we believe, no exact counterpart among the works of local societies, though the Lundy's Lane Society did unveil a cairn to mark the portage road, that ten-mile thoroughfare that joined the lower and the upper Niagara River, and continued to be an important artery of commerce from the very dawn of shipping on the lower lakes to the day that Merritt's Welland Canal cut off its usefulness.

The local society is confronted with two important problems—its meetings and its publications. A meeting that has as its central point an interesting address or an interesting paper on a local topic is fortunate indeed and rather a rarity. The reasons are not far to seek. It has not yet been sufficiently recognized that some historical papers, valuable as they may be, are quite unsuitable for public presentation. Moreover, to fill the meetings of an autumn and winter season with papers of value on local history is beyond the capabilities of most local societies. The Elgin society over a number of years has met successfully this situation by enlarging its field so far as its meetings are concerned. The result has been an unflagging interest.

The publications of the local society constitute its final bequest to the future. Each has its special field to develop, its peculiar characteristics to explain in its own record. Huron County has the story of an especially interesting colonization scheme, Simcoe of a land and water roadway to Georgian Bay, Prince Edward its Loyalists—and so it goes. Besides, there are certain avenues of research common to all—the story of the place names, political

and municipal history, the development of business, events of moment, the core of public movements, the manner of life, customs, and habits, family records, biographies that make a comprehensive "who's who" of yester-year.

If a complete and adequate county history has not been written, the local society should make its plans to have one prepared and published. That should be the main pillar of its ambition.

The publications deserve thought, too, on their physical as well as on their editorial side. One has known societies where no single issue would ever be able to recognize its brothers. The society would do well to adopt a type, paper, format, style, and binding so as to give some uniformity of appearance. Then the books could always be identified as to the family to which they belong.

LOUIS BLAKE DUFF

ENGLISH LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

THE local society is a late development in the study of English local history. Englishmen took their part in the widespread and spontaneous movement towards the study of local history which was so active in Western Europe from the sixteenth century onwards. In Elizabeth's time eager antiquaries began to collect local material, and the publication of Sir William Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire* in 1656 was the culmination of much fine work on which some of the best minds in England had spent their energies during many decades. During the next two hundred years most of the shires and boroughs of England found their historians; and the names of men like Blomefield, the historian of Norfolk, and Eyton, the historian of Shropshire, of Hasted, Nicolson, Surtees, Ormerod, and many more, stand high in the roll of English scholars. One need only glance through the bibliographies compiled by the late Charles Gross to see how much work was done. But there is little evidence of co-operative local effort until the nineteenth century. The early scholars were not only local historians; they wrote their local histories as expressions of a general interest in history or records or literary survivals, and the encyclopædic range of their outlook did much to maintain a high level of achievement. Many of their successors were men of inferior and limited capacity, but they also were

frequently led to the study of local history by an interest in genealogy or architecture or natural history. They were the kind of men who contributed in the eighteenth century to the *Gentleman's magazine* or joined the revived Society of Antiquaries. In the middle of the nineteenth century they tended to get together locally and to form archæological societies or field clubs, or to organize local publications on the model of *Notes and queries*. Some of our local history societies are still "natural history" societies also, and some, in their proceedings, still spread themselves in an amateurish way over the whole range of antiquarian knowledge. They have "gentlemanly" interests.

One of the earliest and best of the local historical societies was formed in Northumberland early in the nineteenth century. This was the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, whose publication, *Archæologia æliana or miscellaneous tracts relating to antiquity*, comprising work begun in 1816 and onwards, began to appear in 1822. In the course of the century this society did increasingly useful work. It helped to complete John Hodgson's *History of Northumberland* in 1858—a work now being superseded by the great revised history "issued under the direction of the Northumberland County history committee" (1893—in progress)—and *Archæologia æliana* is still one of the best of our local periodicals. Thirteen years after *Archæologia æliana* began to appear, the first volume of the publications of the famous Surtees Society was published (1835). The Surtees Society broke new ground. It was formed with the definite object of publishing manuscripts relating to the region which corresponds to the old kingdom of Northumbria, that is to say, England north of the Humber. In the course of its long career of nearly a hundred years it has issued about 130 volumes of texts, including episcopal registers, chartularies, excerpts from records, chronicles, liturgical works, collections of documents of all kinds, reflecting every aspect of English life and development in the northern counties, and more especially in Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland. Another early society was the Chetham Society, "established in 1843 for the publication of historical and literary remains connected with the Palatine counties of Lancaster and Chester". Its ninetieth volume has just appeared. This society, named after the Manchester merchant who in the middle of the seventeenth century founded the Chetham Hospital and Library in the buildings which had housed the fellows of the collegiate church in Manchester and, after the dissolution, the

Earls of Derby, has been less rigid than the Surtees Society in its range and standards, but it has issued many fine volumes, notably in recent years.

We have in England, therefore, two main types of local society: on the one hand, the society of persons interested in local history and antiquities, sometimes in archæology and natural science generally, the kind of society which meets to hear and discuss papers or to make expeditions; on the other hand, the local record societies. In the formation of both kinds the north of England led the way. While in England as a whole several societies were formed in the middle of the nineteenth century, the greater number, particularly of the record societies, date from the last two decades of the century or have been established in quite recent years. Fortunately the two types are not so distinct as their origin might suggest, for as they have become more serious or fallen under the guidance of real scholars, some of the non-record type have taken an interest in the publication of important records. Indeed it would be hard to classify some of our local historical societies. One can rarely afford to neglect the proceedings of any of them, for precious papers can be found among a lot of indifferent matter. Yet the most useful and promising development of recent years has undoubtedly been the formation of new local record societies. The William Salt Archæological Society, for example, has since 1881 published many important volumes of "collections for a history of Staffordshire", including works on family and manorial history, extracts from various public records so far as they relate to Staffordshire, court rolls, and so on. The Yorkshire Archæological Association, an important and active society, has a separate record series, which began in 1885. The Worcestershire Historical Society since 1893 has made accessible a number of useful texts, lay and ecclesiastical, and has issued a catalogue of the manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral. It would be impossible to mention all these societies, which are the expression of a growing appreciation of the need for scholarly work, and of the inextricable connection between local and general history. By this time most of the English counties have some society of the kind, among the latest being the Oxfordshire, Bedfordshire, and Northamptonshire Record Societies, and, last of all, the Norfolk Record Society (1930). Some towns have followed suit, especially in academic centres. There is an Exeter group, a Southampton society, and since last year a Bristol Record Society. Two centres of activity deserve special mention, the Lincoln Record Society, some of

whose publications must be placed among the finest work ever done in England, and the Surrey Record Society, which has done excellent service by calling attention to the importance of a scientific survey of materials and by entrusting the editing of records of local interest to specialists who could treat them as examples of general problems. The parts of the Pipe Roll for 1295 relating to Surrey, as edited by Miss Mills, have been used to explain the system of the exchequer, and Professor Willard, in his edition of some Surrey lay subsidies, has thrown light on medieval taxation. Needless to say, many scholars in the past have treated local history in this way: one has only to think of Maitland's edition of the pleas of the crown for the County of Gloucester in 1221 (published 1884), of Miss Bateson's edition of the Leicester records, of Professor Tait's work for the Chetham Society, of the work done for the Lincoln Record Society by Canon Foster and by Professor and Mrs. Stenton. It is much to be desired that local societies should, in the manner of the Surrey Society, adopt a deliberate and systematic policy on these lines.

This point brings us to the problem of co-operation. England is a small country with a past which is very richly documented. This fact would seem to have influenced the study of local history in two opposite directions. It has made the general study of local history, as part of the history of England, natural, indeed inevitable; it has also encouraged local historians to be satisfied with their own copious traditions. Hence much of the very best work on local history, and organized, comprehensive work in particular, has been done by scholars and societies and public departments quite apart from purely local activities. In a young and immense country such as Canada the conditions are so different that it is worth while to emphasize this characteristic of study on English local history. The publications of the Royal Historical Society or of the Society of Antiquaries contain many papers on local history. The great survey of manuscripts in private hands or under local care, undertaken by the official Royal Manuscripts Commission, is very largely concerned with local history. The texts published by the Selden Society (founded for the study of the history of English law), the Canterbury and York Society, which publishes episcopal registers, and the work of the British Record Society, the Manorial Society, and the Place Name Society, which issues volumes on English place names, examined county by county, touch local history intimately and directly at every turn. The greatest enterprise ever undertaken

in England on local history, the *Victoria county histories*, now stricken by poverty, and continued under great difficulties by its gallant editor, Mr. William Page, was a big publishing effort financed by enlightened men. It was a national, rather than a local, venture, a systematic extension of a great tradition which carries us back to the itinerary of Leland in the reign of King Henry VIII and the *Britannia* written by the famous Elizabethan scholar, William Camden. Co-operative work, so far as it has existed, has been done in England, so to speak, from the centre, not by the joint enterprise of local societies. The chief exceptions have been, (1) the Annual Congress of Archæological Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries of London,¹ a congress which has met thirty-eight times and now comprises delegates from nearly fifty societies; (2) the reports and papers since 1851 of the Associated Architectural Societies, a group of local societies which meet annually for joint discussion.

Recently, however, the influence of the general or centralized action, of which examples have been given, has spread to the local societies. The outcome has been, not conferences and joint action, but much more fruitful and practical developments directed by a common sense of what is desirable. The need for careful surveys of all local material has been driven home by Mr. Hilary Jenkinson's *Guide to archives and other collections of documents relating to Surrey* (1925) and is being met by such schemes as that devised by Dr. G. H. Tupling for a bibliography of Lancashire material, a scheme which is part of the arrangement lately made for the study of local history in the University of Manchester. Direct incentives to action have been provided by the codifying Land Act associated with the name of Lord Birkenhead and the rapid dispersal of historical manuscripts which the passing of that act encouraged. As a result of the act manorial records ceased to have legal importance. Although compulsory measures for the future preservation of these valuable records are unhappily lacking, the master of the rolls has the duty by statute of safe-guarding their custody, if their owners are prepared to surrender them. The interest of local societies has been roused, largely through the energy of the British Record Society, which for more than forty years has been concerned to issue indexes of names, edit texts of wills, and make use in other ways of local records. In two or three counties special record committees have been formed. Some local

¹The report of the thirty-eighth congress contains a most valuable report of the earthworks and research committee (London, 1931, 1s.).

societies, e.g., the William Salt, the Yorkshire Archæological Society, the Surrey Record Society, have begun to make lists of the rolls existing in their counties. Moreover, during the last three or four years many local "record offices", which the master of the rolls could authorize to receive manorial rolls, have been opened. The establishment of these centres at Leicester, Leeds, Bedford, Northampton, Taunton, and other places obviously prepares the way to the more systematic preservation and study of the materials for local history. Indirectly, and in a characteristically English manner, our local societies are gradually giving effect to some of the recommendations made as far back as 1902 by the local records committee which was appointed by the British government in 1899.

Whether more intense and purposeful action of a co-operative kind will emerge from all this interest it would be hazardous to say. Miss Joan Wake, the energetic secretary of the Northamptonshire Record Society, has suggested the creation of a national society "to devote its whole attention to the question of the preservation of records". But the addition of one more society would not be very effective unless it were affiliated to the chief existing local societies, and that would be a very difficult society to manage. In the meanwhile, the rapid growth of more scholarly interests, in which local patriotism is informed by a common purpose, should not be underrated.

In conclusion attention may be called to a few guides and other sources of information. Mr. Guy Parsloe, the secretary of the Institute of Historical Research, is at work, with the co-operation of his wife, on a *Guide to the historical publications of the societies of England and Wales*, which will cover work produced before the end of 1928. They have wisely anticipated this by a series of annual supplements, which gives a conspectus of the bewildering variety of societies in existence (Bulletin of the Institute, Supplements, November, 1930, November, 1931). The reports of the local records committee (1902) and of the last royal commission on public records contain detailed accounts of the various kinds of records and of the ways and places in which they are preserved. The Bulletin of the Institute has published notes on the arrangement of diocesan records by Dr. Craster (June, 1930) and on a survey of parish records by the Bedfordshire County Records Committee (February, 1930). Both the Bulletin and the periodical called *History* refer from time to time to new activities initiated by local societies and to the opening of new repositories for records

(e.g., *History*, July, 1929, xiv, 121-3; July, 1931, xvi, 133-4). In addition to Mr. Jenkinson's *Guide* to the materials for Surrey history, already noted, the series of *Helps for students of history* published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, should not be forgotten. Some of these little volumes contain excellent guides to various classes of records, such as Professor Hamilton Thompson's essay on *Parish history and records*. But, when all is said, the problems which beset the organization of local historical study in England are very different from those which have to be met in Canada. They are rooted in a long, intense, and chaotic tradition. Canada can learn most from us by realizing the difference between Canadian and English conditions and by trying to do what we seem never to have had time to do—take steps to anticipate and be ready for the problems of the future.

F. M. POWICKE

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES IN THE UNITED STATES

THE common view of local history as a harmless pastime of eccentric spinsters, a private interest without dignity and without significance, is as wrong as many other common views. If antiquarianism is idle curiosity about picturesque particulars in by-gone times, investigation merely for the zest of the game, then local history is far more than antiquarianism. Woodrow Wilson once observed that "Local history is the ultimate substance of national history." It is more than that; it is the ultimate substance of all history. For the understanding retrospect of life in one small valley will reveal the human group striving to devise effective means to meet its fundamental needs; as time goes on the group's changing practices reflect and register changing conditions in the world at large. If a change decreed in some great capital or a change alleged to flow from some event or some development, do neither of them reach our valley, they are both by that degree so much less important. Exactly how a change affects a great people can be grasped best, and perhaps with sureness only, by a careful study of local history, because local history is the nearest approach to ordinary individuals in all their social life.

In the modern world, certainly in America, few men are born great. They achieve their greatness by identifying themselves with the local environment, and very likely with the local tradition. It would be impossible to understand how Washington came to be

Washington without some knowledge of tidewater Virginia in the middle of the eighteenth century, or Lincoln Lincoln without picturing the old life of Kentucky and Indiana. The first chapter of most biographies is largely local history. If one would swiftly generalize upon American life in any given epoch, he might do so with some confidence on the basis of the early pages in a few score biographies of the towering figures who flourished some years later. Certainly what is called social history, the history of ways of life, cannot be written without assiduous study of local history. In these concerns the historian must sense the peculiar culture of each section in times past before he can trace by what processes of syncretism a general American taste—appropriating the word American by customary arrogance to the United States—has been developed, and then he may discover that for better or for worse we have been agreed on but a few fundamental things. In different places words have differing meanings: in some localities temperance in intoxicating liquors has meant a total abstinence, in others a moderate and occasional indulgence, and in still others merely the condition of being less drunk; the "sphere of woman" has varied with latitude and longitude, and likewise the observance of the Sabbath, the zeal for schools, the sufferance of a family aristocracy, and many other matters.

But political history too must do homage to local history. Representative government—and nearly every government to-day comes more or less under that category—proceeds upon instructions from localities, and the will of the locality is based upon its own experience. The federal government of the United States has fascinated historians because it seemed to be the government of the American people. In recent years it has tended to become such, but historically it has reflected or determined the individual's interest to a very limited degree. The suffrage, the guaranties to labour, the organization and control of business, roads and canals, the relations between church and state, education, crime and punishment, the mandates of the public conscience in respect to liquor, lotteries and sport, and other concerns of every citizen are matters of state legislation; even the customs tariff, with its various schedules, is really a local issue. The American states are not unimportant subdivisions of the world. It would take three Denmarks to compare with Pennsylvania in size or population; California outstrips Norway according to these standards, without considering the disparity in wealth; New York ranks with Canada; there are more people in Ohio than in Australia; and so on. If the

time-span of their histories is short, the process of commingling stocks of divers origins and the deposit of rapidly succeeding waves of culture offer the state historian an immense field for his labours.

Inasmuch as the original states were separately founded long before there was an independent general government, it is natural that American historiography should have begun with states, or, rather, provinces. In the colonial period there were Beverly's and Stith's histories of Virginia, William Smith's of New York, Thomas Hutchinson's of Massachusetts, *etc.* It was natural, too, that the heroic period of the Revolution and the designing of new constitutions should have made men historically minded. In 1790 Jeremy Belknap, who had recently published an excellent three-volume history of New Hampshire but was then living in Boston, wrote Ebenezer Hazard, of Philadelphia, that John Pintard, of New York, had impressed him with the need of founding an American Society of Antiquaries on the model of those in London and Edinburgh. This project came to nothing, but in the following year Belknap and six fellow-enthusiasts did found the Massachusetts Historical Society, the prototype of such organizations in America. Its *Collections* now constitute an extensive library of source materials, while its *Proceedings* set forth a long series of monographic papers. Pintard and a few associates, DeWitt Clinton prominent among them, followed in 1804 with the New York Historical Society, which by 1830 had issued five volumes to Massachusetts's twenty-two. In the twenties the historical societies of Maine, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Pennsylvania were founded, though the last-named published little before the middle of the century. The South followed with Virginia and Georgia (1831), Maryland in the early forties, and South Carolina in 1855. The western states acquired an historical sense while still young communities; Benjamin Parke, who had fought in the wilderness battle of Tippecanoe, less than twenty years afterward, in 1830, was serving as the first president of the Indiana Historical Society; Michigan had begun two years before and Ohio came one year later.

The great service of these early historical societies, besides their publications, was the accumulation of source materials for sectional history. The colleges and universities gave little attention to such needs before the Civil War, but in recent times such state universities as those of Nebraska, Texas, Washington, North Dakota, and Missouri have taken state historical societies

under their wing, and others like the University of Pittsburgh have sustained like relations to near-by sectional organizations. Beginning with the seminars of Herbert B. Adams at Johns Hopkins University in the early eighties, university scholarship has been more and more applied to local institutions. Throughout the west a number of state historical societies are largely supported by the states themselves, as in Minnesota, Ohio, Iowa, and Wisconsin, the last-named having had the service of a remarkable succession of superintendents, Lyman C. Draper, R. G. Thwaites, and Joseph Schafer. Other state societies, like the New York State Historical Association, without aid from state or university or large endowments, sustain their publications and other enterprises through the enthusiasm of a widespread membership. In many instances there is an intricate inter-relationship in responsibilities. It would be difficult to distribute the praise for the six-volume *Centennial history of Illinois* (1917-1920); the Illinois Historical Society effectively promoted the project, the Illinois Centennial Commission supervised it, the Illinois State Historical Library issued it, seven professors of the state university wrote it; however it was done, it set a new standard for state histories.

There are some who would say that state history is scarcely local, reserving that term for that of smaller subdivisions, the county and the town. In New England there are many excellent town histories: Sylvester Judd wrote a famous account of Hadley, Massachusetts; Henry R. Stiles produced valuable and solid volumes on Windsor and on Wethersfield, Connecticut; Miss Frances M. Caulkins did excellent work on Norwich and New London in the same state—to name but three examples. Such works were made possible by the voluminous town records, often-times carefully edited and published. It was a New England trait to keep records well; possibly it was a New England influence upon the town of Southampton, Long Island, that aided James Truslow Adams in dealing with it to produce the best town history in New York state. Most American cities have had histories of a sort. New York City is distinguished among the great cities of the world in having printed all its council minutes from the early seventeenth-century beginnings to the present, and all under competent editorship. Probably no city has a better record of its physical growth than that afforded by I. N. Phelps Stokes's six-volume *Iconography of Manhattan Island*.

Of all categories of historical writing in America county histories are probably the worst. In New England, where

historical competence was for a long time concentrated, the county was comparatively unimportant, though even there Ellen D. Larned's two-volume *History of Windham County, Connecticut*, showed as early as 1874 that that unit might be profitably treated. Franklin B. Hough set high models in New York state which were seldom followed. In the South where the county touched the individual's life more nearly, the records were often poorly kept or at least neglected. It is true that Virginia court records have been ransacked in the interest of social history, but very few respectable county histories have resulted. Throughout the country unnumbered tons of county histories weigh down the library shelves, but they are much too often the work of commercial companies employing cheap literary labour to accumulate impressive bulk, the chief revenue coming from the appendant biographical volumes, wherein the susceptible citizen may buy a kind of fame—a hundred dollars for a steel engraving of his portrait with half-tones at half price. But if used with care even these volumes have a value for mass-history. Professor Solon J. Buck, for example, in his *Illinois in 1818*, made useful generalizations on the origins of the population of that state by tabulating birth-places recorded in thousands of such biographical sketches.

The bibliographical guides to local history in the United States are not so numerous or so complete as one might wish, but there are some which should be mentioned. Channing, Hart and Turner's *Guide to the study and reading of American history* (Boston, 1912), pages 62-89, lists the older standard works. A. P. C. Griffin's *Bibliography of American historical societies* (2nd edition, Boston, 1907) indexes articles in the various magazines and proceedings. The societies themselves are listed in the *Handbook of American historical societies*, published by a committee of the American Historical Association—and several state libraries have printed similar lists. In February last appeared, in a limited preliminary edition, a *Survey of activities of American agencies in relation to materials for research in the social sciences and the humanities*, compiled by Franklin F. Holbrook for a joint committee of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council. It gives a clear and useful summary of the library collections and museums of about seven hundred agencies, a large part of them being local historical societies. Elaborate inventories of materials illustrating American history are being projected and if they are carried through local history will benefit immensely.

DIXON RYAN FOX

THE NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERY: A FRENCH OBJECTIVE IN THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

THE motives of France for entering the War of American Independence have been the subject of considerable speculation and controversy. At present the generally accepted interpretation is that of Professor Edward S. Corwin,¹ although the late Professor Claude H. Van Tyne championed a different theory and recently brought forward new evidence in support of it.² His view is that France felt it necessary to engage in a preventive war to protect her West Indian possessions from an Anglo-American attack due to follow any reconciliation between the colonies and the mother country. Mr. Corwin disputes this, as also the correctness of the older theories that France was moved by a desire to re-acquire territory or commerce in America or that public opinion forced her into the war. He asserts that the only important motive of the French government was the aggressive desire to restore a "balance of power favorable to France" by securing the disruption of the British Empire.

At first glance these theories appear to be irreconcilable, but they really are not, for both the defensive and the aggressive motive could easily have existed at the same time—such a mixture of motive is, indeed, characteristic of the idea of preventive war. But were these the only motives?

Mr. Corwin's study, which gives the broadest discussion of French motives, is based principally upon the great work of Henri Doniol.³ A careful examination of this work and of evidence from other sources convinces the present writer, however, that it fails to supply all the information necessary for an accurate analysis of French motives. In all probability a more extensive and searching study than has so far been attempted would reveal that French aims were much more complex than has been thought. In order to show the need for further investigation, it is proposed to consider here the available evidence on one French motive that has been almost entirely neglected, namely France's desire to better her position in the Newfoundland fishery.

¹*French policy and the American alliance of 1778* (Princeton, 1916), 1-22.

²*The War of Independence: American phase* (Boston, 1929), 474 f., 491-501.

³*Histoire de la participation de la France à l'établissement des États-Unis d'Amérique* (5 v., Paris, 1886-92).

For some time prior to the American Revolution Great Britain had been determinedly trying to strangle the French fishery. The fishery was, however, an industry of great economic importance to Catholic France and a principal basis of her naval power, and just because it was recognized that the relative power of France and Great Britain turned on these two factors of economic and naval strength¹ the French could not allow their claims in the fishery to lapse. We shall see that in the years immediately preceding France's entry into the War of American Independence the fishery question was continually in the back of Vergennes's mind. As one French historian has said, it was to France what English possession of Gibraltar was to Spain, that is, a constant sore.²

The history of the Newfoundland fishery before the Treaty of Utrecht is the history of growing French predominance culminating in the almost complete expulsion of the English during the War of the Spanish Succession.³ At the end of this war, however, Great Britain, having been victorious elsewhere, was able to take strong measures against the French danger to the British fishery. In favour of the New Englanders, who used its coasts, she forced the cession of Nova Scotia, and to prevent the French from again establishing a hold on Newfoundland she forced France to evacuate the island, renounce all permanent establishments, and acknowledge the sovereignty of Great Britain over it.⁴ The ancient French fishing right she was unable to abolish in spite of persistent efforts, for the French were adamant in refusing to give it up, preferring rather to continue the war.⁵ The French right to use the coast was merely restricted to the northern zone called by the French "le Petit Nord" and by the English after this time the "French Shore". The nature of the right retained was not defined. It is most probable, however,

¹"Mémoire de M. Choiseul remis au roi en 1765" (*Journal des savants*, 3e sér., XLVI, Mar.-Apr. 1881, 178 f., 254).

²Francis P. Renaut, *Le pacte de famille et l'Amérique: La politique coloniale franco-espagnole de 1760 à 1792* (Paris, 1922), 347.

³Lorenzo Sabine, *Report on the principal fisheries of the American seas* (House miscellaneous documents, no. 32, 42nd Cong., 2nd sess., I, 12-272. Washington, 1872), 13-59; J. D. Rogers, *Newfoundland* (Historical geography of the British colonies, Charles Lucas, ed., V, pt. iv. Oxford, 1911), 25-102.

⁴A.-J.-H. de Clerq, *Recueil des traités de la France* (22 v., Paris, 1880-1907), I, 7, art. 13.

⁵Louis XIV declared that he "would rather continue the war than deprive the French of the dried and salt fish necessary for their fasts." Refusal of the French to yield their rights held up the treaty for a long time. This was one of the most bitterly contested points in the whole treaty. Emile Bourgeois, "Nos droits à Terre-Neuve" (*Annales des sciences politiques*, XIV, Mar., 1899, 186 f.).

that the right was regarded at the time of the treaty as a residual one and not a concession granted by Great Britain.¹ This distinction is important because it was the basis for the whole fishery dispute. If the right was residual, the French were entitled by past practice to enjoy the *exclusive* use of the French Shore. If the use of the shore was a concession, the British could reasonably claim the right of concurrent use, for nothing in the treaty specifically insured the exclusive use of the shore to the French.

In all probability the French interpretation of the treaty was the correct one. An argument difficult to answer is to be found in the fact that for half a century the French were allowed to proceed as though they had the same exclusive right to the French Shore as ever. They even exercised rights of extra-territoriality. Every year the first fishing captain to arrive on the coast became "admiral" of the French fishery and governed his countrymen according to the French naval ordinance of 1681. Every year, also, appeared vessels of the French navy which enforced the regulations upon their own fishermen and promptly expelled from the French zone any English intruders. This condition existed without change and without protest by Great Britain down to the Seven Years' War, when the drafting of the French sailors for the navy and the dangers from Britain's naval control of the sea kept the French Shore practically vacant. This enticed the British fishermen to make use of it, and after some years of this use they were able to raise the cry of "vested interest" so dear to the heart of governments.²

During the abortive peace negotiations of 1761, Choiseul insisted on the complete maintenance of the French fishing right, and, in partial exchange for Canada, a neutralized port in Newfoundland, Cape Breton Island, or Nova Scotia to be under the authority of a French commissioner.³ The significance of these negotiations can be fully understood only if one knows that, from

¹Eugène T. Daubigny, *Choiseul et la France d'outremer après le traité de Paris: Étude sur la politique coloniale au XVIII^e siècle avec un appendice sur les origines de la question de Terre-Neuve* (Paris, 1892), 298; J.-C. Bracq, "La question de Terre-Neuve d'après des documents anglais" (*Revue historique*, LXXXV, May, 1904, 25-27); but see Bourgeois, "Nos droits à Terre-Neuve", 184-188. For the official contentions in later times see Krantz to Goblet, Sept. 21, 1888, in *Documents diplomatiques: Affaires de Terre-Neuve* (Paris, 1891), 180 f. and the historical memorandum accompanying Salisbury to Waddington, July 9, 1889, *ibid.*, 241-248. The latter is unsound because it fails utterly to understand the history of the fishery in the two preceding centuries.

²Bracq, "La question de Terre-Neuve", 27; Daubigny, *Choiseul et la France d'outremer*, 301, 304.

³French proposals, July 15, 1761, *The parliamentary history of England* (36 v., London, 1806-20), XV, 1040; French ultimatum, Aug. 5, 1761, *ibid.*, XV, 1050 f.

the earliest times, the French had been the principal exploiters of the Grand Bank of Newfoundland.¹ But the exploitation of the Grand Bank and the neighbouring banks by the French could not be carried on advantageously from the French Shore. Some neighbouring port was really necessary. Since the Treaty of Utrecht the French had been in the possession of Cape Breton Island, and that possession had sufficed to take the place of the lost south shore of Newfoundland.² Now that Cape Breton Island was to be taken away, the French felt compelled to demand at least one neutralized port, but the best that Pitt would do was to offer the tiny island of St. Pierre, which was unsatisfactory for a base.³

When these negotiations came to naught, the French resumed their attempt to gain their objects by war, now in conjunction with Spain. The importance which Choiseul attached to the fishery is shown by the fact that he at once sent out an expedition to conquer a foothold in Newfoundland, which expedition seized St. Johns and other establishments and held them until British troops were brought up from New York in sufficient numbers to effect a reconquest.⁴ This attempt to secure a foothold in Newfoundland was a clear prognostication of the plans of the French in the War of American Independence and tends to confirm a belief that in almost every way the policies of Vergennes and Choiseul were identical.

Negotiations for peace were re-opened in 1762 with the Bute ministry, the French making the same demands as before. Choiseul had to be satisfied, however, with little more than Pitt had offered him: the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon as French possessions under certain restrictions. In regard to the French Shore the terms of the treaty are important because they involve an interpretation of the article on the fishery in the treaty of Utrecht:

Art. 5. The subjects of France shall have the *liberty* of fishing and drying fish on a part of the coast of the island of Newfoundland as was specified in article 13 of the treaty of Utrecht, *which article is renewed and confirmed by the present treaty.* . . .⁵

¹Rogers, *Newfoundland*, 29.

²Cf., *Calendar of state papers, colonial series, America and West Indies, 1712-1714* (London, 1926), 260.

³Reply to French proposals, July 29, 1761, *Parliamentary history*, XV, 1047; Reply to French ultimatum, Aug. 16, 1761, *ibid.*, XV, 1063; Last memorial of France, Sept. 13, 1761, *ibid.*, XV, 1068-1070.

⁴Rogers, *Newfoundland*, 128.

⁵G. F. de Martens, *Recueil des principaux traités* . . . (8 v., Göttingue, 1791-1835), I, 38. Italics are mine.

The use of the French Shore is thus described as a liberty, and sanction is given to the interpretation that the Treaty of Utrecht conferred no more than a liberty. In agreeing to this phraseology the French apparently allowed themselves to be caught napping, for they thereby put their own seal upon an interpretation of the treaty of Utrecht that was entirely inimical to, and almost destructive of, their interests.¹

When the first French fishing fleet after the Treaty of Paris went out to Newfoundland in the spring of 1763, it found that the British fishermen had invaded the French Shore and seized the best stations, and that they claimed the right to fish concurrently with the French. It found, furthermore, that the boats or dories which it had long been customary to leave in deposit on the shore had been burned by order of the commander of a British frigate. The sheds and magazines left behind had been pillaged or destroyed by the British. Naturally enough, in these circumstances, the hostility between the French and British fishermen was extreme and expressed itself in numerous acts of violence. Among other things the British forced the French to re-embark for France in the middle of September instead of at the end of October as they had always been wont. They demanded that thereafter the French always depart by the tenth of September and that they leave none of their boats behind on deposit.²

The basic reason for this trouble was one that had affected the overseas fishermen from England also. What was happening was an enormous expansion of the local boat-fishing industry as distinct from the overseas ship-fishing industry because of the greater profit and the small capital required. This local industry had already threatened the English overseas industry in the time of Charles II. The measures taken against it then had checked it for a few years, but it would rapidly have become formidable if it had not been for the French wars of 1689-97 and 1702-13. After the Treaty of Utrecht it could no longer be checked, and it rapidly expanded at the expense of the English overseas fishery. The Englishmen were consequently driven out to sea, where for the first time they began to exploit the banks (1720-30). Here they began to prosper again, so that the shore fishery was soon left practically undisputed to the boat fishermen. The latter continued to expand their activities along the coast,

¹They were caught napping because the British government is said to have made declarations in parliament before the treaty was made that it intended to insist on concurrent fishing. Daubigny, *Choiseul et la France d'outremer*, 309, 318 f.

²*Ibid.*, 306; Renaut, *Le pacte de famille et l'Amérique*, 77 f.

and by the time of the outbreak of the Seven Years' War they were ready to pour into the vacated French Shore as air into a vacuum. The invasion of French rights was, therefore, not so much a wanton move on the part of the real Englishmen, who still numbered no more than in the best days of the preceding century, as the result of an irrepressible economic expansion of the Newfoundlanders, who had already largely dispossessed their own compatriots.¹

Whatever the cause of the conflict, however, the French were not inclined to submit easily to the new state of affairs. They began to complain loudly to their government, and as these complaints multiplied the ministry took the matter up as being very serious.² In instructions to the ambassador at London the French foreign minister presented the French arguments and ordered the ambassador to demand that the British relinquish their claim to concurrent fishing and the abridgement of the season for the French. He went on to say:

... this matter of the fishery has always been considered by us as so important that this article was the first and principal condition of the peace, ... and we should not have concluded peace with the English if we had not regarded the fishery as assured to the French. ... France can never abandon an interest so essential.³

According to representatives of the French fishing interests the principle of concurrence really meant the ruin of the French fishery. Because the Newfoundlanders lived in the New World throughout the year they would always be able to pre-empt the best stations before the French could arrive. As their numbers grew the French would be forced to less and less advantageous places so that the fishery would lose all profit and decline to nothing, the distant and costly voyage being only possible to the French as long as they were able to enjoy an advantageous

¹Rogers, *Newfoundland*, 77-84, 115-119.

²Daubigny, *Choiseul et la France d'outremer*, 306. One cannot appreciate the seriousness of this question unless one realizes the importance of the fishing industry as a recruiting ground for the French navy. The navies of that time were not kept in full commission in time of peace but depended upon the incorporation of civilian sailors for expansion in time of war. For the French navy the fishermen were a principal resource. On the *inscription maritime* instituted by Colbert see Charles de la Roncière, *Histoire de la marine française* (v. 1-5, Paris, 1899-1920), V, 365-373. The whole foreign policy of Choiseul was based on an antagonism to England and the plan of restoring France to a position of ascendancy by building up a great navy. The British attack on the French fishery was thus directed at the very root of Choiseul's policy. Cf. an unsigned note of Dec. 27, 1759, Royal Hist. MSS. Com., *Fourteenth report*, app., pt. x, 581.

³Duc de Praslin to Guerchy, Nov. 11, 1763; Daubigny, *Choiseul et la France d'outremer*, 307-309.

fishing. It would be better, said the representatives of the fishermen, to have twenty leagues of the coast reserved for the French than a hundred open to both nations. They also showed the injustice and unreasonableness of the other English demands, which were manifestly designed to kill the French industry.¹

To the vigorous representations of the French the British government responded with a policy of obdurate procrastination.² It was soon clear that any definitive agreement was impossible, at least before the next fishing season. The French, therefore, concentrated on securing a temporary *modus vivendi* which would give them some security while the solution of the basic question was pending. The British met these efforts in much the same manner as the previous ones.³ The French ambassador thereupon threatened Lord Halifax with war:

If it comes to pass that the French are deprived of their fishing right again this year, we shall be justified, after having exhausted in vain all means of conciliation and accommodation, in employing others, and although I cannot deny that France is not yet recovered from the fatigues of the last war, I believe the King will not hesitate to recommence it for so just a reason.⁴

This threat, upon being verified in Paris as seriously meant, brought the British ministry to a somewhat more conciliatory attitude, but the very best it would concede was the promise to issue instructions to the British officers at the fishery to avoid all possibilities of trouble.⁵ The whole matter was thus practically left in suspense, for this arrangement can hardly be called a *modus vivendi*. The conduct of the British was but little changed, and the secondary questions of limits, authority, right of deposit, etc., which had not been decided continued to give rise to altercations and hostilities between the two peoples. Almost every year fresh causes for dispute came up, and the situation grew more and more intolerable.⁶ The direction in which it was tending is shown by a statement of Choiseul made in 1765: "I persist in believing that sooner or later war will come to us over

¹*Ibid.*, 310-312.

²Besides having already committed itself to concurrence the government had to meet strenuous criticism from Pitt, who would have liked to see the war continued for two years more, if necessary, to deprive the French entirely of their fishing rights. Horace Walpole, *Memoirs of the reign of George III* (4 v., London, 1845), I, 228.

³Daubigny, *Choiseul et la France d'outremer*, 314-319.

⁴Guerchy to Choiseul, Apr. 19, 1764, *ibid.*, 320 f. The threat was reiterated for emphasis, *ibid.*, 322.

⁵*Ibid.*, 323-325; Minutes of cabinet council, Apr. 23, 1764, Royal Hist. MSS. Com., Report on the MSS. of the Earl of Eglington, etc. (1885), 229 f.

⁶Daubigny, *Choiseul et la France d'outremer*, 326.

this matter."¹ That the dispute did not abate in rancour with the further passage of time appears from a despatch of the French ambassador written in 1770 in which occurs the statement: "It is necessary to defer as long as possible the time when this subject of conflicts which revives every year will compel a more serious one between the two nations."²

Shortly after this despatch was written came the crisis over the Falkland Islands. Although Choiseul was afraid of war at this time and attempted to avoid it, one cannot help but wonder if the trouble over the fishery was not a thing that tended to reconcile him to what he thought was the necessity of supporting the king of Spain. His fall in this year, however, tended to prevent any immediate trouble, for Louis XV and Choiseul's successor, the Duc d'Aiguillon, were diverted from Choiseul's policy by the impending partition of Poland. They abandoned the idea that France ought to spend her best efforts against England for the old continental policy which had brought France to ruin, and they did their best to secure an English alliance. The men who could allow Choiseul's fine navy, the product of a decade of exertion, to go to pieces were not the ones to press for French rights in the fishery. Relations between the two governments were better in consequence, but the grievances of the French fishermen were not at all abated.³

With the accession of Louis XVI the policy of Choiseul was re-established in almost all its aspects by Vergennes. This was certainly the case in regard to the fishery, for Vergennes, from the first, looked upon the existing situation with great dissatisfaction.⁴ Nothing of importance was done, however, until the French ambassador, the Comte de Guines, who had been absent from his post for some time, prepared in the late spring of 1775 to return to London. Vergennes then furnished him with a new set of instructions which stated: "The only affairs which we have at this time with the court of London are (1) the Newfoundland fishery, (2) the claim which the India Company makes against that of France, (3) the repair of the quays of Dunkirk."⁵ At this time the affairs of America were not regarded as very important by Vergennes. He saw in them only an additional

¹Choiseul to Ossun, Aug. 26, 1765; quoted in Bourgeois, "Nos droits à Terre-Neuve", 191.

²Du Châtelet to Choiseul, Mar. 20, 1770; Daubigny, *Choiseul et la France d'outremer*, 326 f.

³Renaut, *Le pacte de famille et l'Amérique*, 157, 210 f.

⁴Doniol, *Histoire*, I, 72. Cf., *Statutes at large*, 15 Geo. III, cap. 10, sect. 7.

⁵Vergennes to Guines, June 5, 1775; Doniol, *Histoire*, I, 74.

reason for France to be careful to maintain good relations with Great Britain because of the danger of that country attacking France as a diversion from internal dissension.¹ His instructions to Guines ignored America entirely and emphasized the desire to remain on safe terms with the British. The wretched condition of the French navy was a factor he had to keep in mind.²

On July 1, Guines was able to reveal to Vergennes for the first time the real nature of the American revolt.³ Vergennes was now told that the whole British army would be unable to reduce it and that even the return of Chatham to power would not lead the Americans to return to their former condition. At the same time the news of the capture of Ticonderoga added weight to these statements. This revelation changed entirely Vergennes's judgement of the situation. He had hitherto been led to think that British troops would soon quell the disturbances in America and that in any case the return of Chatham would lead to a speedy reconciliation. In such a situation he had seen no opportunity for France but rather a danger.⁴ Just as soon, however, as these suppositions were shown to be in error, he returned in a flash to the old policy of Choiseul, and from this change dates the beginning of those aggressive ideas that were definitely formulated six months later in the famous *Réflexions*. His reply to Guines, of July 10, is of great significance in this regard, for it anticipates in many points the later document and indicates clearly when this policy was first conceived as practical.

Of more direct interest here, however, is the fact that Vergennes at once changed his attitude on at least two of the three disputes he had mentioned in Guines's instructions. On the affair of Dunkirk he proposed to assume a haughty and almost defiant insistence on French rights. The most notable change, however, was in regard to the fishery. The matter was deemed so important that special instructions were sent for the re-opening of the negotiation in its fundamental aspects.⁵ In view of what

¹Vergennes to Guines, June 23, 1775; Vergennes even wrote to Guines that France really desired to aid Great Britain to extricate herself from her difficulties on the ground that the revolt was a dangerous example. A despatch from Guines of June 16 strongly supported the impression that the American revolt was really a stalking horse of the opposition in England and that the attitude of Chatham and that opposition was the thing that deserved to engage French attention. *Ibid.*, I, 81, 83 f.

²Vergennes to Ossun, Oct. 31, 1774, *ibid.*, I, 33 f.

³Guines to Vergennes, July 1, 1775, *ibid.*, I, 153.

⁴It should be noted in this connection that Choiseul had abandoned his hopes for an early revolution in America in 1769, *ibid.*, I, 6. It is probable that this late judgement of Choiseul misled Vergennes at first, *ibid.*, I, 7, 12.

⁵Vergennes to Guines, July 10, 1775, *ibid.*, I, 89 f.

followed one is probably justified in assuming that Vergennes immediately took advantage of the opportunity revealed to him to press on Great Britain vigorously the French demand for the settlement of this perennial dispute.

On July 27, Guines took the question up with Lord Rochford and stated the French case rather forcefully.¹ Rochford replied with what the French took to be unmistakably a veiled threat of war.² This threat reverberated through the diplomatic channels of the two Bourbon allies for some time and caused great agitation. It led at once to steps for concerting war plans and even a formal exchange of notes between the two sovereigns—a not very frequent occurrence.³ Vergennes seems to have been sincerely frightened, for he started to change his recently adopted views and policy. He seems to have thought that Great Britain would accept a reconciliation on the terms of the colonies and then vent her anger on France and Spain.⁴ Probably because of this fear he instructed Guines to declare most positively that France had no thought of helping the colonies.⁵

At this juncture the proclamation of the colonies in rebellion (August 23) re-assured Vergennes about a reconciliation, and he at once veered back more strongly than ever to his aggressive ideas.⁶ The discussion of war plans with Spain was now carried on more aggressively, and Bonvouloir was sent to America to reconnoitre. The significant thing about this whole affair is the part played by the fishery question. It would seem that the raising of this question was immediately responsible for the British threat, and it would seem that the British attitude on this question was subsequently in part responsible for the increased aggressiveness of Vergennes's ideas.

The next reference to the fishery question occurs in the *Réflexions* of the following December,⁷ after these aggressive ideas had been matured:

... it is very probable that as a result of events we could recover a part of the possessions which the English took away from

¹*Ibid.*, I, 116.

²Guines to Vergennes, July 28, 1775, *ibid.*, I, 116 f.

³*Ibid.*, I, 131 f., 140.

⁴Vergennes to Guines, Aug. 20, 1775, *ibid.*, I, 171 f.

⁵Vergennes to Guines, Aug. 27, 1775, *ibid.*, I, 149.

⁶Vergennes to Guines, Sept. 3, 1775, *ibid.*, I, 174.

⁷A comparison of estimates of numbers of troops in the *Réflexions*, *ibid.*, I, 246, with those in Vergennes to Ossun, Nov. 28, 1775 and Jan. 26, 1776, *ibid.*, 328 and 318, shows that the *Réflexions* were drawn up between those dates and hence probably "in the last days of the year 1775" as Doniol specifically states (I, 242) and not "early in November" as Corwin assumes, *French policy and the American alliance*, 69.

us in America, such as the shore fishery, that of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Cape Breton Island, etc., etc. We are not speaking of Canada.

With perhaps significant promptness the formulation of these *Réflexions* was followed in the next month by the re-opening of the fishery question once more. In accordance with Vergennes's wish, Guines renewed, at the end of January, 1776, the old representations of the French on the interpretation of the thirteenth article of the Treaty of Utrecht, that is, he demanded that the right of exclusive use of the French Shore be restored.¹ The result was a vehement refusal to consider the question from Lord Weymouth, the new secretary of state for the southern department, a man of Francophobe feeling. So arrogant was Weymouth in his two conferences with Guines that the latter reported: "I doubt if diplomacy furnishes many like them."² Vergennes was much incensed. The whole matter was at once submitted by him to the king in council where it was decided to stop the negotiation.³

After a delay caused by the recall of Guines for having been indiscreet in an earlier affair and his replacement by Garnier as *chargé d'affaires*, the latter was spoken to in a much more conciliatory manner by Lord Suffolk. Vergennes instructed Garnier, however, not to proceed further with the fishery question unless the British ministry offered of its own accord to be reasonable. He was quite bitter about the attitude of Great Britain and came close to being threatening:

They ought not to be surprised if, instead of lending ourselves as we have up till now to accommodations which they abuse, we hold out for the literal fulfillment of the strict obligations of the treaties and nothing else.⁴

At this very time Vergennes drew up the *Considérations* which proposed to commit France at once to the policy of giving secret aid to the Americans. The paragraphs of this document which bear on the fishery question are too long to quote, but it is clear that the recent rebuff in this matter was one of the reasons for the proposed change in policy.⁵ In view of the reality of that rebuff Vergennes's recriminations on this score cannot be considered as mere bombast intended to impress the king.

¹Doniol, *Histoire*, I, 381 f.

²Guines to Vergennes, Feb. 1, 1776, *ibid.*, I, 382 n.

³Vergennes to Guines, Feb. 7, 1776, *ibid.*, I, 383 n.

⁴Vergennes to Garnier, Mar. 8, 1776, *ibid.*, I, 383 n.

⁵*Considérations*, 1st week March, 1776, *ibid.*, I, 275 f., 277 f.

While secret aid to the Americans was being considered and eventually accorded, the question of Newfoundland and the several other French grievances were not allowed to drop. In May Garnier was told to continue his representations.¹ Bad relations, therefore, continued up to the moment when Vergennes learned of the American Declaration of Independence. This event inspired a new set of *Considérations* in which immediate war was proposed. In the recapitulation of French grievances the fishery question again received prominent mention.² However, the war proposed did not materialize, because the news of the defeat of Washington at Long Island caused Vergennes to return to the more cautious policy of continuing secret aid.³

This policy remained in effect for more than a year thereafter, and during this time the question of the fishery dropped below the surface. The reasons are obvious. France did not desire war for the time being because the chances of success were still uncertain. The British were protesting vehemently against an obvious connivance of the French government at the drawing of aid by the Americans from France. In these circumstances to have pressed the fishery question would very likely have led to the war which Vergennes wished for the moment to avoid. Vergennes also had his hands full during this period meeting the demands of Spain and the United States as well as those of Great Britain and with attempts to maintain the neutral rights of France upon the sea. Finally, the prospect of war in the near future allowed him to hope that the fishery question could be settled more advantageously by force of arms. As late as October, 1776, he had again avowed the fishing islands to be one of the chief objectives of the war which France was considering.⁴

During this period of watchful waiting both the Spanish ambassador and the American commissioners held up the fishery to Vergennes as an object for making war. D'Aranda, after listing the grievances of France, pointed out that, unless France allied herself with the Americans, her fishery was apt to suffer, since, if they secured their independence unaided, they would have no treaty obligations to observe French rights.⁵ The

¹Vergennes to Garnier, May 11, 1776, *ibid.*, I, 461.

²Considérations sur le parti qu'il convient à la France de prendre vis-à-vis de l'Angleterre dans la circonstance actuelle, Aug. 31, 1776, *ibid.*, I, 569.

³*Ibid.*, I, 615 f., 619, 680-688.

⁴Aranda to Grimaldi, Oct. 10, 1776; Juan F. Yela Utrilla, *España ante la independencia de los Estados Unidos* (2nd ed., 2 v., Lérida, 1925), II, 22.

⁵Mémoire du comte d'Aranda pour l'alliance immédiate avec l'Amérique, 1776, Doniol, *Histoire*, II, 213 f.

American commissioners, in the offer of terms made March 18, 1777, showed a canny knowledge of French interest in this question when they proposed the joint conquest of Canada, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the adjacent islands, and the assignment to France of half the fishery.¹

Shortly after this the Spanish foreign minister urged that the two powers plan to recover their lost possessions in America. He specifically mentioned Canada, as he had deduced from one of the French despatches that France desired its reconquest.² Vergennes replied:

When . . . we let it be understood that, indifferent over new sugar colonies, we would rather obtain some convenience for the fishery of Newfoundland, too much extent was given to the desire if one has inferred that the King has some settled design. His Majesty has no other . . . than to maintain . . . the peace. . . .³

In view of Vergennes's past desire for war and the aid then being given to the Americans, one can discount his desire for peace and attribute his last statement rather to the desire to restrain Spain from her insistence at that time on reinforcing the West Indies—an action which Vergennes thought might lead to war inopportunistically. The interesting thing about this passage is the fact that Vergennes admits having said that France preferred to make gains at the fishery in event of war rather than in the West Indies. This, in view of the great importance of the sugar islands at this time, is strong testimony on the importance of French interest in the fishery.

No important mention of the fishery occurs after this until the victory of Saratoga encouraged Vergennes to think once more of making an alliance with America. In the conference of December 12 with the American commissioners over the proposed alliance Vergennes was careful to ascertain what disposition the Americans showed toward satisfying French and Spanish desires in the question of the fishery.⁴ Their answer was satisfactory.⁵ Vergennes then took up the matter of an American alliance with the Spanish foreign minister.⁶ The latter was particularly

¹*Ibid.*, II, 320.

²*Ibid.*, II, 263 f.

³Vergennes to Aranda, Apr. 26, 1777, *ibid.*, II, 275.

⁴One of the objectives of Spain in event of war was the recovery of the right to exploit the Newfoundland fisheries which she had entirely lost by the treaties of Utrecht and Paris. There is considerable evidence on Spanish desires in this regard, but it is impossible to treat the Spanish aspect of the fishery question here.

⁵Vergennes to Montmorin, Dec. 13, 1777, *ibid.*, II, 639. Cf. Journal of Arthur Lee, Dec. 12, 1777, in R. H. Lee, *Life of Arthur Lee* (2 v., Boston, 1829), II, 361 f.

⁶Vergennes to Montmorin, Jan. 7, 1778; Doniol, *Histoire*, II, 727 f.

interested in the concrete objectives of any war which might result.¹ Vergennes replied that:

Neither the expulsion of the English commissioner at Dunkirk nor a little less annoyance in the fishery of Newfoundland, nor, finally, the recovery of the small islands of Dominica and Grenada are sufficiently striking objects to invite one to make war. *They are, however, the principal objects which the King has in view for the end of a successful war.*²

French interest in the fishery is further shown at this time in the tentative plan of war which was drawn up. For a number of reasons it was planned to send a squadron to North America to surprise and overwhelm the British naval forces there. The squadron was then to divide, one part sweeping the seas to the southward and going to the protection of the French and Spanish West Indies while the other proceeded to Newfoundland to attack the British fishery. The commander was to be given the liberty, if the occasion offered, of assisting the Americans in an attack on Nova Scotia. In the very first plan of operations, then, the French thought of attacking Newfoundland as a major objective.³ One is reminded of Choiseul's expedition of 1762.

Meanwhile Spain had begun to reveal the terms on which she might assist in a war to aid the Americans. The two points mentioned as requiring American agreement were the re-acquisition of Florida and the possession of an establishment in Newfoundland.⁴ The Spanish minister was too slow, however, for before this despatch reached Versailles, France had already signed the treaties of alliance and of amity and commerce with the United States.

Some articles of these treaties need to be read with the fishery question specially in mind. Article 6 of the treaty of alliance, in which France renounced any desire for conquests on the continent of North America, is often read as renouncing any conquests in North America.⁵ As a matter of fact, the French intended it to mean only that they renounced conquests on the mainland of North America, the terms of the American draft being changed with this distinct purpose in view, and the significance of the change was clearly understood by the American commissioners.

¹Floridablanca to Vergennes, Jan. 13, 1778, *ibid.*, II, 779.

²Vergennes to Floridablanca, Jan. 28, 1778, *ibid.*, II, 785. Italics are mine.

³Opérations à faire exécuter par notre marine, Jan. 1778, *ibid.*, III, 33.

⁴Montmorin to Vergennes, Feb. 5, 1778, *ibid.*, II, 796.

⁵William W. Malloy, ed., *Treaties, conventions, international acts, protocols and agreements between the United States of America and other powers, 1776-1923* (3 v., Washington, 1910-23), I, 481.

Before giving the direct evidence that the right of France to make insular conquests in North America was implicit in the treaty it will be well to show that nothing in the treaty was contradictory of such a right. Some features which might seem at first glance to militate against such an interpretation are seen on closer examination to be of no such effect. Thus article 7 specifically guaranteed any conquered West Indian islands to France. Why, then, if France was to be allowed other insular conquests, was not their disposition dealt with? The answer is that the islands in the north were also the objects of American ambition,¹ so that the commissioners were unwilling to make any promises to France that would tie the hands of their government. Vergennes for his part was not willing to make promises to the Americans which he might be obliged to fulfil later even though France conquered Newfoundland or other islands by her own efforts alone. Without such promises the French would be guaranteed, by the ninth article of the treaty of amity and commerce, the exclusive use of as many of the islands as they could conquer. The matter of a partition of the fishery was therefore left to be settled when it came to hand. Its omission from the treaty was not due to its minor importance, as one might think, but due to the fact that it was all too important a matter to be settled in advance.

Latent in this unsettled question was the cause of a dissension between the two allies which, during the rest of the war, was just as important as the antagonism between the United States and Spain over the Mississippi valley. For some reason the hostility between the United States and Spain has been emphasized while a very real antagonism of interest between the United States and France over the fishery has been denied or discounted. As a matter of fact the diplomacy of the war and the peace cannot be fully understood without a knowledge of both these factors, which are in some ways closely interrelated.

Article 5 of the treaty of alliance states that:

If the United States should think fit to attempt the reduction of the British power, remaining in the northern parts of America, or in the islands of Bermudas, those countries or islands, in case of success, shall be confederated with or dependent upon the said United States.

The narrow interpretation of the unqualified word "islands" in

¹See art. 5 of the treaty of alliance and art. 9 of the American plan of treaties in Worthington Ford, ed., *Journals of the continental congress, 1774-1789* (v. 1-27, Washington, 1904-28), V, 770.

this article would be that it referred to the Bermudas only. Be that as it may, however, the article refers only to conquests made by the Americans alone. The article cannot be held, therefore, to bar France from all insular conquests in North America.

In the draft treaty which congress proposed to France there was a definite assurance that the United States should have possession of all North American islands conquered. The treaty signed, however, was drawn up by the French and contained no such assurance.¹ This fact alone is significant as an indication that France insisted on the right to conquer any of the fishing islands. Upon reading the treaty proposed by the French, the American commissioners at once saw this difference and proposed that the fifth and sixth articles be changed so that France should be made to renounce unequivocally all the islands which the Americans coveted, namely, Newfoundland, Cape Breton, St. John, Anticosti, and the Bermudas.² In the final conference, however, Gérard refused to agree to these changes:

He could not agree to the alteration we proposed in the 6th article of the treaty of alliance as it was meant to leave the islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence open to the conquest of either or of both, in the last case on terms to be settled when the expedition was planned.³

Shortly after having the treaty thus interpreted to them the commissioners signed for the United States. There can be no question, therefore, that the treaty of alliance left the North American islands excepting the Bermudas open to conquest by the French. The insistence of the French on leaving this opening is the best of evidence on French ambitions in this regard. It should be noticed that Gérard said that in case of a joint project against any of these islands the necessary partition was to be arranged beforehand, for this explains article 4 of the treaty in its reference to compensations.⁴ The principle thus laid down by the French was restated in their instructions to Estaing, which empowered him to acquire an island by conquest or by diplomatic negotiations with the Americans by way of compensation for assistance.⁵

Shortly after the treaty was signed Vergennes was endeavour-

¹Journal of Arthur Lee, Jan. 18, 1778, II, 378.

²*Ibid.*, II, 381, 382, 383, 385.

³Feb. 6, 1778, *ibid.*, 393.

⁴Article 4 as a whole can hardly be understood without a knowledge of French and American designs on the fishing islands. It should be read in the French text, Martens, *Recueil des principaux traités*, I, 702.

⁵Estaing to Gérard giving résumé of his instructions, June 15, 1778, Doniol, *Histoire*, III, 237. Cf. Vergennes to Montmorin, Mar. 27, 1778, *ibid.*, III, 7.

ing to discover Spain's price for entering the war. He supposed that the objects of Spain would be "the recovery of Florida and Jamaica and some acquisition for the convenience of fishing in the north of America."¹ As for France, he said:

We would desire greater convenience for fishing and an establishment for shore fishing. If we can obtain one for ourselves, we will willingly co-operate to assure one for Spain, but that demands an agreement with the Americans which can take place only after the outbreak of war.²

This still further substantiates the fact that the disposition of the North American islands had been left out of the treaty with America with a view to subsequent arrangement. It is also further evidence on the reality of French desires for territorial acquisitions among those islands.³

The reality and importance of French designs on the fishing islands is born out with unquestionable clearness during the course of the war and the peace negotiations. Conquests in the Gulf of St. Lawrence were one of the principal objects of early naval plans. Persistent efforts were made by Estaing to get the Americans to participate in a joint expedition. During the peace negotiations France fought doggedly and bitterly to secure acquisitions in this region by diplomacy. If the peace hinged in one way upon the question of Gibraltar, it hinged in just as important a way upon the question of Newfoundland. After France entered the war, however, a new element was injected actively into the question of the fishery, namely Franco-American rivalry. This subject is so important and extensive as to require separate treatment, but in considering it the evidence piles up further and overwhelmingly that French interest in the Newfoundland fishery was a factor of great importance in determining the policy of France in relation to the American Revolution. The current impression to the contrary is due to a failure to appreciate properly the existing evidence,—a failure which probably results from an unconscious tendency of historians in the United States to perpetuate the traditional feeling of gratitude to France for her assistance.

DALLAS D. IRVINE

¹*Ibid.*, III, 13.

²*Ibid.*, III, 14.

³Art. 9 of the treaty of amity and commerce with the United States shows that France envisaged the acquisition of further territory for fishing purposes and that it was anticipated that this territory would be acquired in full sovereignty. Fishing off such territory was to be reserved exclusively for the French, American poachers to be subject to the penalty of confiscation of their vessels. In a separate article (10) the Americans promised not to trouble the French in their fishing rights on British territory under the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht. This was a safeguard in case France could not better her position under that treaty. Malloy, *Treaties*, I, 471.

NAMESAKES IN THE FUR-TRADE

CONFUSION between persons of the same name has always been a fertile source of error in history; but nowhere perhaps has this confusion been more pronounced than in the history of the Canadian fur-trade. For this there have been several reasons. In the first place, the majority of the Canadian fur-traders were of Scottish birth or extraction; and it is well known that the Scottish people have usually displayed a striking lack of ingenuity in the invention of baptismal names. To the family or clan name they have generally prefixed Christian names of a stereotyped character, so that the number of John Macdonalds, Alexander Mackenzies, and Simon Frasers in Scottish history has been as the sands of the sea. In the second place, the Scottish-Canadian fur-traders, with the clannishness of their race, were wont to introduce into the trade not a few of their poor relations in Scotland: the North West Company, for example, was filled with relatives of both Simon McTavish and Sir Alexander Mackenzie, not to mention other partners. In the third place, most of the fur-traders took to themselves Indian or half-breed wives, "according to the custom of the country", and had half-breed sons who almost invariably bore the names of their fathers. Some of these half-breed sons actually rose to positions of importance in the fur-trade while their fathers were still alive.

In these circumstances, it is not surprising that many writers on the history of the fur-trade have fallen into the trap of confusing different persons of the same or similar names. Sons have been confused with fathers, nephews with uncles, and even persons wholly unrelated the one with the other. The Revd. Robert Campbell, for instance, in his invaluable *History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, St. Gabriel Street, Montreal* (Montreal, 1887), hopelessly mixes up the Cuthbert Grant who was a partner of the North West Company, and who died in the west in 1799, with his half-breed son of the same name, who took part in the affair at Seven Oaks in 1816; and the Revd. George Bryce, in his *Remarkable history of the Hudson's Bay Company* (London, 1900) mixes up just as badly the Peter (Bastonnais) Pangman, who was the associate of Peter Pond, with his half-breed son, also known as "Bastonnais" Pangman, who was present at the affair of Seven

Oaks. The confusion between Norman McLeod (the partner of John Gregory in Gregory, McLeod and Company), Archibald Norman McLeod (his nephew), Alexander McLeod (also a partner of the North West Company), and Alexander Roderick McLeod (who became a chief trader in the Hudson's Bay Company under the union of 1821, and who died in 1840) has been so profound that Dr. Bryce actually "telescoped" three of them in a personage to whom he gave the name of "Alexander Norman McLeod".

The late Dr. Elliott Coues, the editor of the *Henry-Thompson journals*, was well aware of these pitfalls with which the history of the fur-trade was beset. He devoted a great deal of time to making a card-index of the names he met with in the literature of the subject; and his footnotes are to this day a mass of information assembled nowhere else. But the result of his researches was that he frequently had to throw up his hands in despair in his attempt to disentangle the snarls he encountered, as in the case, for example, of his note on the numerous Grants who were prominent in the fur-trade at the end of the eighteenth century.¹ Since Dr. Coues wrote, however, a great deal of new information has come to light, thanks mainly to the publication of new materials relating to the fur-trade by such writers as Judge Howay, Professor Morton, Professor Innis, Mr. R. Harvey Fleming, Mr. J. N. Wallace, and others, and it is now possible to distinguish, with some degree of certainty, between at least the more important personalities in the fur-trade bearing homonyms.

Until recently no one dreamt that there had been two Simon Frasers, partners in the North West Company at the same time; but it is now established beyond question that such was the case. We even know something of the older Simon Fraser, who passed from the scene as Simon Fraser the explorer came into it. He was the son of Simon Fraser, senior, a merchant of Quebec in the early days of British rule, and a cousin of the great Simon McTavish. He was in charge at Grand Portage in 1797, and retired from active participation in the fur-trade about 1799. In 1804, he witnessed the last will and testament of Simon McTavish, when he was described as living at "Bout de l'Isle", or Ste. Anne's in the Island of Montreal; and in 1805 he relinquished his two ninety-second shares in the North West Company, as appears from a photostat copy of the minutes of the annual meetings of the company from

¹E. Coues (ed.), *New light on the early history of the greater north-west* (New York, 1897), p. 80. "Peter [Grant]", he says, "is to be distinguished from several contemporaneous Grants in the fur-trade, and especially from Cuthbert Grant."

1801 to 1814 now before me.¹ When he died, I have not been able to ascertain; but it is possible that his will may be preserved in the judicial archives of the Province of Quebec at Montreal.

A similar case of confusion is to be found in the two (or, indeed, the three) Alexander Mackenzies in the North West Company. I do not know that anyone has hitherto pointed out that there were two Alexander Mackenzies who were partners in the XY Company when it was absorbed by the North West Company in 1804-5. The first of these was Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the pioneer of the overland route to the Pacific, and later the head of Sir Alexander Mackenzie & Co.; the second was a wintering partner, who became in 1805 a wintering partner of the North West Company, and who was one of the North West partners indicted at York in the Selkirk trials in 1818. Shortly after this he retired from the trade, though he was at Fort William when the union of the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies was consummated in 1821, a year after Sir Alexander Mackenzie died in Scotland; and, as appears from the register of Christ Church, Montreal, he died in Montreal on July 23, 1830. Whether he is identical with the Alexander Mackenzie who (according to the late Dr. M. S. Wade²) came to Canada, like Sir Alexander Mackenzie, from Stornoway in Scotland, and whether he was a relative of Sir Alexander Mackenzie, I have not been able to determine. But that many writers have confused him with Sir Alexander Mackenzie, long after Sir Alexander Mackenzie had retired to Scotland, is all too clear. It is perhaps proper to add here that there was a third Alexander

¹The minutes of the company from 1801 to 1807 are photographed from a copy in the Sulpician Library in Montreal; those from 1807 to 1814 are taken, by courtesy of the governor and committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, from the original minute-book preserved in Hudson's Bay House in London. What has become of the subsequent minutes is a mystery. Probably they were destroyed at Fort William before it was captured by Selkirk in 1816, since (according to the "Narrative" of Jean Baptiste Perrault in the *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, XXXVII, 614) the Nor' Westers "had time to make away with many letters, as well as the books, which they threw into the fire before the seizure was made".

²"There was another Alexander Mackenzie in Canada at that time, and, strange to say, he too hailed from Stornoway, where his brother Colin was Comptroller of Customs; a third brother, Kenneth, was also in Canada. To make confusion more confounded it has been stated that Colin Mackenzie was the brother of Sir Alexander, but this is obviously incorrect; Sir Alexander had only one brother, whose name was Murdoch. I have before me a letter written by the pseudo Alexander Mackenzie to his brother Colin at Stornoway. It is dated 'Canada, 6th June, 1778', and contains the following passage: 'Tell our father I'll write him next fleet'. If this means anything at all it would indicate that their father was then at or near Stornoway, whereas at that date Kenneth Mackenzie, Sir Alexander's father, was in Canada, a lieutenant in the Royal Forces. These facts prove conclusively that Alexander, Colin's brother, and Alexander, Kenneth's son, were two entirely different persons" (M. S. Wade, *Mackenzie of Canada*, Edinburgh, 1927, 18).

Mackenzie in the North West Company, a native of Inverness, who became a clerk in 1812, and who was killed by the Indians in British Columbia in 1828.

One of the most difficult problems to resolve is the identity of the numerous John McDonalds or John McDonells (the two names were almost interchangeable) in the fur-trade. When the XY and North West Companies were amalgamated in 1804-5, there were two wintering partners who rejoiced in the name of John McDonald, both of whom (to make confusion twice confounded) were stationed in 1806 in the district of "Fort des Prairies". One of these was distinguished by the letters "NW" affixed to his name, the other by the letters "A McK Co." The first was John McDonald of Garth, extracts from whose autobiography have been printed by Masson, and who died at Gray's Creek, Glengarry, Upper Canada, in 1860. The second was a native of Inverness-shire, who settled in Glengarry with his parents in 1786, was a clerk at Lachine in 1791, became a wintering partner in the XY Company, was known among the fur-traders as "McDonald le Borgne", was one of the partners tried at York in the Selkirk trials in 1818, settled on Kempenfeldt Bay about 1825, and was buried in the Church of England cemetery at Newmarket, Upper Canada, in 1828. At the same time, there was a John McDonell or Macdonell, who was a partner in the North West Company—sometimes known as "Big Macdonell", or "Macdonell le prêtre", or (later) "John Macdonell of Point Fortune"—an account of whose life will be found in the paper by Father Morice entitled *Sidelights on the career of Miles Macdonell and his brothers* (CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, 1929, 308-32). To make the record complete one must add that there was a John McDonald—known as "McDonald le Grand"—who entered the North West Company as a clerk in 1801, who spent most of his time in New Caledonia (where Ross Cox met and described him in 1814¹), and who "retired to Canada" in 1834; and a John MacDonald, who entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1815, and was retired in 1823. Amongst the wills of Hudson's Bay servants preserved in Hudson's Bay House, London, there is the will of a John McDonell, "formerly in the Hudson's Bay service", who died at St. Andrews, Lower Canada, on December 1, 1834; but whose will this is, I am

¹Ross Cox, *Adventures on the Columbia River* (New York, 1832), 164-8. "In height", says Cox, "he was six feet four inches, with broad shoulders, large bushy whiskers, and red hair, which for some years had not felt the scissors, and which sometimes falling over his face and shoulders, gave to his countenance a wild and uncouth appearance."

at a loss to determine. It is not that of John Macdonell of Point Fortune, for he died in 1850, and it is not that of John McDonald of Garth, or of "McDonald le Borgne". Perhaps it is the will of "McDonald le Grand".

It is well known that there were two Alexander Henrys in the fur-trade—Alexander Henry the elder (1739-1824), the author of the *Travels and adventures* (New York, 1809), and his nephew, Alexander Henry the younger (d. 1814), the author of the journals published by Elliott Coues. But it is not so well known that there was a third Alexander Henry, the second son of Alexander Henry the elder, who was murdered by Indians at Fort Nelson in the Mackenzie River department in the winter of 1812-13. Nor is it always realized that, besides the Hon. Roderick McKenzie, the cousin and correspondent of Sir Alexander Mackenzie, there were at least three other Roderick McKenzies in the fur-trade. One of these was the Roderick McKenzie of the Hudson's Bay Company who became a chief factor in 1830; the other two were half-breeds, distinguished in the records of the Hudson's Bay Company as "Roderick McKenzie A" and "Roderick McKenzie B", the first of whom died in 1830, and the second of whom was still a clerk in the service of the company in 1860. There were two Benjamin Frobishers, uncle and nephew, the first of whom died in 1787, and the second of whom died in 1819, as described in S. H. Wilcocke's *Death of Mr. Benjamin Frobisher*, printed in Masson. There were two William McGillivrays in the North West Company, the elder the chief director of the company from 1804 to 1821, and the younger a half-breed who was drowned in New Caledonia in 1832; and there were two Simon McGillivrays, one the brother and the other the son of the elder William McGillivray. At the time of the union of the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies in 1821, there were no less than three John McLeods in the fur-trade. One of these was a servant of the Hudson's Bay Company, who became a chief trader in 1821, and who died in 1849; another was a clerk in the North West Company, who became a chief trader in 1834, and retired in 1842; and the third was a son of Archibald Norman McLeod, "a poor deformed lad", who was permitted to retire in 1824.

These notes will, perhaps, serve to illustrate to some extent the mists which have hitherto rested on the history of the fur-trade, and the necessity of devoting to its study something of that biographical and genealogical zeal which French-Canadian scholars have applied to the history of New France, and which they have,

in fact, devoted to the French Canadians in the fur-trade. An English counterpart of Joseph Tassé's *Les Canadiens de l'ouest* or of Father Morice's *Dictionnaire historique des Canadiens et des Métis français de l'ouest* is sadly needed.

W. S. WALLACE

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE JOURNAL OF S. G. HATHAWAY—A MINER OF '62 IN CARIBOO

THE following diary is that of S. G. Hathaway, an American miner of 1862, who ventured to the Cariboo gold-mines of British Columbia in search of fortune.

The document, consisting of two small booklets, is preserved in the provincial archives of British Columbia at Victoria. It is well written in a clear hand, the first part in pencil, the rest in ink. Mr. John Hosie, provincial archivist, acquired it recently from the government agent's office at Fort George, where it had been lying unknown for some time. The archivist, to whose alertness we owe the recovery of the diary, has very graciously given his permission for this editing of the document.

S. G. Hathaway was a printer unaccustomed to either vigorous physical exertion or a severe climate. Yet he possessed an anxiety for adventure and a courage and determination to overcome obstacles in the way of his purpose. With no experience in mining, Hathaway made his way in the spring of '62 with hundreds of others toward the newest gold-field, Cariboo. It promised to be richer than Australia or California, but Hathaway, like many other miners, found it merely rougher. Cariboo yielded him no golden fortune; instead, it claimed his life.

In addition to the interest of its vivid descriptions, the journal has two points of significance. In the first place, it describes the life of a miner on a scantily populated creek and thus provides a contrast to the many pictures we have of life in the mining towns. Williams, the most famous of all Cariboo creeks, and its adjacent creeks including Nelson, had been discovered only one year before Hathaway's expedition and much of the ground was still unworked. Nelson is west and slightly north of Williams.

In the second place, Hathaway's trip was made during the first year of the "rush" before the Cariboo road had been built three hundred and fifty miles from Yale on the lower Fraser River to Barkerville on Williams Creek. The diarist was, therefore, able to describe the difficulties of travel into the mines by rude trails where no proper roads yet existed.

ISABEL M. L. BESCOBY

JOURNAL OF S. G. HATHAWAY

British Columbia, June 20, 1862.

On the 3rd June I left San Francisco in Steamship Brother Jonathan for Victoria. On the way up we went into the Columbia River up to Portland, Oregon. Remained there from Saturday noon till Monday morning, then out to sea again & on to Victoria arriving there Tuesday afternoon, June 10—just one week on the trip. We pitched our tent in the edge of the woods, half a mile out of town & began camp life at once. We found that, owing to the snow still lying up in the mountains we were full early. & so concluded to wait awhile & learn more of the country before starting. On the 17 I and two other young men—one from Maine, the other from New Hampshire—concluded to try our luck as partners; so we bought a mule together & a load of provisions—enough to last six weeks at least—and on the 18th took another step for Cariboo, taking a steamboat for New Westminster on the Fraser River—Got in at evening & had to lie over till this morning, waiting for another boat to take no [*sic*] higher up;—and here we are now steaming along on a bright, warm day against a rushing, boiling current, winding this way & that through a rugged chain of snowy mountains, many of them rising up for thousands of feet so steep that no living thing can climb— . . . There are numbers of Indians all through this region, & we see an encampment now & then, & seek them paddling their eggshell canoes. They are peaceable & depend much upon trade with the whites for their living—

Monday—June 23—Little Lillooet Lake—after sailing up the Fraser river about 45 miles we turned into Harrison river, & 5 miles brought us to where it widened into a beautiful lake from one to 6 or 8 miles wide & 45 miles long. I wish you could see it. Snowy mountains & rocky cliffs rising straight up from the water, shutting out all the world but the blue sky overhead; islands & sharp points running out into the lake—making a picture of wild grandeur different from anything I ever saw before. We got to the upper end at 10 o'clock at night, where there is a shanty village called Port Douglas. Got our things ashore & blundered around in the dark to find a spot to camp, which we did without much trouble. From Douglas there is 29 miles of land travel to the next lake, where we are now. The next morning after landing we loaded the mule & made up packs for ourselves, each one carrying from 30 to 40 pounds, & away we went. It was very warm, my pack bore down heavy & my boots—iron heeled, soles nearly an inch thick & driven full of round-headed nails—gave my poor feet a sorry rasping. I had too much clothing, & was soon drenched in sweat. We staggered along some 4

miles & stopped for dinner & a few hours rest; then we bucked to it again & stopped for the night after making altogether about 10 miles. The next day we did better—making 14 miles—though it was a rainy day and we were all sore—my feet the worst in the lot. We stopped at a wayside shanty for the night, paying two dollars apiece for our supper & breakfast. This morning we made the 5 miles to this lake in less than two hours, & here we must wait most of the day for a chance to sail up the lake to the next portage, as the strips of land separating the chain of lakes are called. We meet many men returning already. Most of them have not been through to Cariboo, but far enough to find out that they have not money enough to stand it. Most of those who have been there give the same reason for coming back—too early in the season & not money enough to be able to wait till the ground is in a fit state to work. For myself I expect nothing, & try to think as little as possible about it. I am in for it now & must see it out now if it takes my last dollar & leaves me "dead broke" in a foreign land—

June 26—Anderson Lake—We came up Lillooet Lake on Monday evening in a big clumsy boat, sending the mule around by a trail. It was a short trip—only 7 miles, & we got through & crossed the land portage—less than 2 miles—to Pemberton Lake before dark. Made camp for the night. Next morning bundled aboard a rickety little steamboat & came to Pemberton City about 2 o'clock. Got dinner & started on the 30 mile portage to Lake Anderson, getting here early this morning—Thursday. & we are wasting a few hours for the boat to be loaded—

June 27—Seaton Lake—Made the trip down to Anderson—about 16 miles—packed up & hurried across the narrow portage—less than 2 miles—to catch the Seaton lake boat, but found they had only waited for those who had horses to ride, & she was a quarter of a mile off when we got to the landing. We sent some hearty curses after them for the scurvy trick & camped to lie over till to-day. There are many Indians all along the route. They work pretty well, packing over the portages, loading wagons & boats, &c & the squaws bring us branches of grass to sell—They have some customs different from Indians I have seen before. They bury their dead up in the air!—that is, they build a crib & stick it up on poles 15 to 30 feet high, sometimes leaning it against a large tree, and they put the bodies in these. Over & around them they hang flags, blankets, kettles,—sometimes a gun—whatever belonged to them when alive, I suppose—I have seen quite a number of these burial places during the last few days, almost always in some place overlooking the water. The water through the whole country here is cold as ice water from the

melting of the snows from every hill. I went in for a wash to-day. One plunge was enough.

July 4—well up on the Brigade route for Cariboo. No holiday for us, we must keep moving, though we would lie by & rest if the mosquitoes would not torment us. Night & day, at all times & all places they swarm upon us,—millions upon millions of all kinds. We are all but eaten by them, & yet we are told they are worse ahead—God pity us!—Came down Seaton Lake June 27—Next morning on to Lillooet City. Here we had to cross the Fraser river—more than $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile wide & boiling & surging along at the rate of 20 miles an hour. Nothing larger than a whale boat to cross in. Took our load in, hitched poor mule to the stern, & away we went, my heart in my throat through fear of losing Billy. But we made the other shore all safe, half a mile or so further down, paid 25 cts apiece, & a dollar for the mule, & we were off at last, free from steamboats & dependent only on ourselves & Billy Mule. Every day we push ahead, over mountains, through green valleys, along lakes, & we have come at last into a region where we see no snowy mountains, nothing but low hills, grassy plains, & a great many ponds & small lakes. The days are very long—twilight till after 9 o'clock, & we travel early & late, resting 3 or 4 hours in the middle of the day. I have suffered much with my feet, but they are doing better now, & my health otherwise would be excellent, were it not for the colds I have caught, which have settled down to a troublesome cough.

My long spell in the printing office made me tender; but I think I shall soon harden to it.

Going to Cariboo is no play. We expect to be two weeks longer yet, & the worst of the road comes last. We still meet many poor fellows going back, a sorrowful looking set. They all went up too soon, & with too little money, so that high prices drove them back before the weather would allow them to prospect.

July 15—Almost in the diggings—Dragging along day by day—wet, tired, hungry & sleepy, I felt hardly able to write a full description of our journey as I had meant to do at first.

Today we dragged along in the rain over a miry trail till we got well soaked, when we made camp for the afternoon and dried out by a rousing fire—From all the accounts we hear from those going back the prospect is a gloomy one—but on we go to try *our* luck. Provisions are very dear—at Williams Lake, nearly a hundred miles back we bought 50 lbs flour, 18 lbs Bacon, 32 lbs Beans—100 lbs in all, for which we paid \$90—The next we buy will be a dollar a pound we expect.

[From here on the manuscript is written in ink]

Aug. 6.—Nelson Creek—Cariboo—

Got in to the new town of Van Winkle on Lightning Creek, on Saturday, July 18th. Provisions dear & scarce. Flour \$1.25 a pound—tea \$3.00, salt \$5 for a 3 pound bag, Nails \$3, a pound & hardly any to be had. My partners growled all the way up because I thought best to bring some nails along,—they wish now we had brought all nails! Sold Billy Mule at once for \$140, & I found on dividing our goods that I had provision enough to last me 5 or 6 weeks. Next day, Sunday, we rested, & on Monday I took blankets & grub for two weeks, stored the rest in a cabin a \$1 a week, & came over to Nelson Creek to prospect for diggings. First bought a license to mine, good for a year—\$5 for that. My partners got discouraged in a day or two & went off, & I expect they are out of Cariboo by this time. I then went in with two sailor boys from Martha's Vineyard who travelled part of the way up with us & came over to Nelson at the same time. Found some men who have been prospecting on the creek for 2 months, sinking shafts (wells, you would call them) trying to hit upon the deepest part of the channel where the gold always settles. They have the best looking chance on the creek, & as they had just got out of money & provision, they offered us an equal share with them if we would join them & feed two of them two weeks. We concluded to do so; so here we are, hard at work, the two weeks nearly up, & nothing certain known as yet. Yesterday I went back to Van Winkle & packed over all my things—70 pounds. If anybody thinks that it is fun let them try it.—8 miles & back, over a mountain, deep sloppy mud nearly every foot of the way, & big logs to straddle & climb at every ten steps, it seems, & sometimes two or three of them together at that. Walk over that road in the morning & stagger back with a load of 70 pounds in the afternoon, & almost any lazy man would be satisfied with his day's work.

I am afraid Cariboo will swamp me as it has thousands of others. There are some few men who are getting out gold very fast. Some few claims are yielding as high as 150 pounds a week—report says more; but the great majority are getting nothing, most of the crowd, in fact, have been driven back by the high prices eating their money up before they had a chance to try for diggings. I have almost a mind to go back to California if I find nothing where we now are, but I hate to give up while there is yet a chance, however slight,—I have still about \$440, left out of \$613 that I had on leaving Suisun, & I can manage to stand it here for the balance of the season & have enough left to pay my way back to California & there begin anew. Not a pleasant prospect at that, but I

suppose I shall have to stand it. However, if I stay here I shall not fail through lack of trying.

Aug. 10. Sunday. Broke down yesterday as far as this creek is concerned. Water came into the bottom of our shaft so fast that we cannot dig deeper without making a wheel & pump, & the prospects are not good enough to satisfy us in going to the expense. Today the two men we have been feeding start out for Cala. together with one of the sailor boys, who leaves so that his partner may have money enough to stay longer. As for me I don't know what to do. Inclination & judgment, too, as far as that goes say "Go back to Cal." God knows. this is a hateful country—rain nearly all the time & all the country covered with a thick, heavy growth of gloomy firs, with the swampy, miry ground buried under fallen trees so that it is almost impossible to get along. Everybody I see looks gloomy & discouraged, & it really seems hopeless to try to do more in Cariboo. In all my trials I never saw a darker time. Sept. 8.—Still on Nelson—concluded to try to pick up a few dollars here, by scratching around where men worked last year rather than run around. Have made about \$100 clear of expenses in the last month—rather slow for Cariboo. Today we have had snow & I suppose we must soon leave. I have little hope of now getting back the cost of the trip to say nothing of pay for my time, but I am thankful that I have not lost all like so many others. I am working very hard, every day, Sundays & all, & I shall be glad when forced to give it up. I do not know that I can earn anything here more than a few days longer, & I think I shall go to Williams' Creek, where there are very rich diggings & new discoveries being made. Some of the claims there pay twenty-five pounds of gold a day to each man working! More money in one day than I want to make me happy for life. Well I must grind along till my lucky day comes, & gather in my slow dollars one by one, only too happy if old age don't nip me before I get a little resting place in this wide world.

Sept. 28—On Nelson yet. Been scratching around steadily. Am now even on the cost of the trip & enough besides to take me back to Cala. Bad weather now—snowing & freezing nearly all the time. Most of the men have left the creek—only four left here now, & each one working & living by himself about a quarter of a mile from each other. Today my cabin mate went away. We started in to work together but he soon bought a bit of ground that was paying well—about \$50 a day—giving \$500. It fizzled out completely before he got half his money back, & now he strikes out for Williams' Creek. Would go myself & try for big diggings, but I cannot feel justified to leave \$10 a day, & I am making that now with a fair show of doing so as long as I dare stay here—That cannot be many weeks more—Looks dubious now—If a deep snow comes

on it will be a serious matter for me to get out. But my chief fear is of being robbed on my way down,—many have been robbed and some murdered on the down trails. This country is all a wilderness & it is very easy for robbers to escape. No doubt there are many lying in wait for the big purses that have been growing fat up here & will soon be on the way out for the winter.

[SECOND BOOKLET]

1862

Oct. 5. Nelson Creek—Bad weather lately. The sun is fast working south & we see but little of it even when fair. It is freezing cold & scarce an hour without a snow squall.

Have been troubled with a nervous fear lest I should get snowed in, but at last concluded to take the chance & brave it out. I got the man working alone above to join me & prospect a place on the hill high above the creek. I think it will pay & if it will we shall have a good claim for next year. So I went over to Lightning today after more grub & got enough to stand me two weeks. Let in to snow in the morning & has been at it hard & steady ever since. It rather frightens me, but I am in for it now & must take the chances whether I will or not. We have got to dig a ditch & bring water on the ground we wish to prospect, & it will take us three or four days to test it, if it looks dangerous then to stay longer we will make a break out, if not we shall stay till our grub is nearly gone.

Found the town today nearly deserted, most of the men having gone below for the winter. I expect hard times getting out, but that don't scare me,—it is the chance of getting blocked in & frozen or starved that makes me fearful. Wish now that instead of going for grub today I had packed up & got safely over the mountain that we have to cross at the head of Nelson. If it keeps on snowing this way there will be three feet of snow there tomorrow, & when we go we have to carry a load of blankets & grub. Hard to get in & harder to get out, this Cariboo.

Oct. 13. It was a bad night to us that of last date. Snow fell heavily & steadily all night. Could not sleep for nervousness, & about midnight the overloaded trees began to fall crashing down all around us. Went out & roused new partner Martin in cabin close by. Stood outside watching, & before he could find his boots a large tree which threatened us gave way by the roots. Yelled the alarm and out came Martin bare footed for dear life. He ran directly under the course of the tree, stumbled & fell & the tree crashed in the snow directly at his heels. A narrow escape & it seemed to frighten me more than it did him. After

that we sat up till day in my cabin, rushing out at every crack & warning sound. I think we heard the fall of fifty trees & eight or nine fell that might have crushed us, but luckily they leaned the other way. The storm held up during the day & we went on with our work.

We got about discouraged on Tuesday the 7th & were about to make ready to leave, when we were surprised by the unexpected coming back of my old cabin mate from Williams Creek. He encouraged us to stand out a while longer, so we pitched in till yesterday, Sunday, & then went out after more grub, intending to stay ten days longer if possible. Most of last week we had snow & cold weather,—& on Friday it began to rain, & on Saturday there was a heavy freshet. Sunday was a fine day but we had a hard time breaking a trail through the snow out to Lightning. The rain seemed to have packed it hard & made it worse. Today Monday, it has set in to rain again so that after getting well drenched we quit work about the middle of the afternoon. This weather is a surprise all around. Almost everybody has left the country believing that everything would be frozen by this time. So far I am loser by staying. Have spent about \$50 for grub since Sunday before last & have made nothing for it yet. We are trying a place now where we did expect to make \$20 a day, but it does not look good now since we started in. Thought last evening when we got back to camp faint & worn out that I could never get out of this if another heavy snow should come, but after supper felt stronger & am taking the chances, now quite unconcernedly. By the way, the night of the great storm closed [?] on the morning of my birthday I shall hardly forget it—

Oct. 17. Friday. Mild weather has held on till the snow is nearly gone—Diggings still turn out poorly—have not got our grub money back yet. . . . I am in a bad fix just now—got a raging boil coming—just at this particular time, & on my foot, too!—It seems as if the devil must have had a hand in it. Could not get out to work to-day—tried it—took me nearly an hour to get on my boot & hobble off 50 yards, then I just crawled back again. Right among the cords at the bend of the foot just above the instep—Who ever heard of such a thing—It is very late in the season for Cariboo, & if a big snow comes within a few days, how shall I, a cripple, get out? A serious question with me now.

Oct. 26. Sunday. Have had a sorry time since last date. My boil does not work well. Poulticed for 8 days till nothing more would run but blood & now I am dressing with salve. The skin has come off from a spot the size of a half dollar, leaving the raw flesh still swelled, hard, and sore. Pulled on my rubber boot yesterday for a trial, but was glad to squirm out of it again pretty quickly. Have suffered as much

in my mind as in my body through fear of snow setting in. It holds off beyond all expectation. We have had some light falls, & Thursday & Friday last very cold, making anchors ice in the swift water. Yesterday was rainy clearing off in the night with a light snow,—to-day as usual, cold gray clouds threatening snow. The sun runs so low here now that we can see it only about two hours at & near midday even when fair. Don't remember seeing the sun three times in the last three weeks. O, that I were out of this gloomy wretched country! Were I not a cripple I should feel at ease, for if snow set in steadily I could pack up & leave, sure of being able to fight my way out, but now my fears get the better of me.

[Note in pencil by another hand: "From all accounts lost trying to make Williams Creek. R. C. S. Randall."]

GRADUATE THESES IN CANADIAN HISTORY AND ECONOMICS

We present herewith our sixth annual list of graduate theses which have reference to Canadian history, government, or economics, and which have either been recently completed or are in course of preparation. In the compilation of this list we are dependent upon the co-operation of over a hundred universities throughout the British Empire, the United States, and the Dominion of Canada and we wish to express our appreciation of their generous assistance. We have also included in the present list a few theses on Canadian topics which have been written in Germany in the last few years and which have not hitherto been recorded in our previous lists. The following information is, of course, necessarily incomplete, but we believe that it serves a useful purpose in indicating the scope and type of specialized work which is being done in Canadian history at the present time. We should be very grateful to have our attention drawn to any mistakes or omissions which may have occurred.

ALISON EWART.

THESES FOR THE DOCTOR'S DEGREE

- ALFRED G. BAILEY, B.A. New Brunswick, 1927; M.A. Toronto, 1929. The cultural relations of Indians and Europeans in the northeast of America. *Toronto.*
 JOHN A. BALL, A.B. Johns Hopkins, 1926; M.B.A. Harvard, 1929. The Combines Investigation Act. *Johns Hopkins.*
 G. M. BENEDICT, A.B. Harvard, 1927; A.M. 1929. The imperialist movement in England, 1895-1902. *Harvard.*
 MARGERY W. BLATZ, B.A. Toronto, 1917; M.A. 1931. The practical workings of social hygiene legislation in Canada. *Toronto.*

- LALLA R. BOONE, A.B. Texas, 1917; A.M. 1929. Vancouver's explorations in the Pacific. *California*.
- W. R. BRIDGWATER, A.B. Rice Institute, 1928; A.M. 1930. The American Fur Company. *Yale*.
- HELEN B. BURTON, A.B. Wisconsin, 1927; A.M. 1928. Joseph Chamberlain as colonial secretary. *Wisconsin*.
- P. O. CARR, S.B. Kirksville Teachers, 1923; A.M. Iowa, 1927. Defense of the frontier line, 1760-1775. *Iowa*.
- W. H. CARTER, A.B. Amherst, 1926; A.M. Harvard, 1930. The flow of capital between Canada and the United States. *Harvard*.
- CHARLES E. CAYLEY, B.A. Manitoba, 1921; A.M. Chicago, 1925; Ph.D. 1931. The north Atlantic fisheries in United States-Canadian relations. *Chicago*.
- C. JOSEPH CHACKO, A.B., S.P.G. College Trichinopoly (Madras University), 1923; A.M. Columbia, 1927. International waterways, with special reference to the international joint commission between the United States and Canada. *Columbia*.
- H. U. CLARK, A.B. Harvard, 1923; A.M. 1928. The purchase of Alaska. *Harvard*.
- K. CLARK, Ph.B. Hamline, 1898; A.M. Minnesota, 1922. International communications, the American attitude. *Columbia*.
- SAMUEL D. CLARK, B.A. Saskatchewan, 1930; M.A. 1931. Settlement in Canada West, 1840-1867. *Toronto*.
- HAROLD E. CONRAD, A.B. Brown, 1927; A.M. Clark, 1929. Loyalist settlement in the Maritime Provinces. *Toronto*.
- ALBERT B. COREY, B.A. Acadia, 1922; M.A. 1923; A.M. Harvard, 1924. American opinion of Canada, 1828-1842. *Clark*.
- HARTLEY W. CROSS, A.B. Springfield, 1923; A.M. Clark, 1924. The status of the British dominions. *Clark*.
- L. B. CURRIE, B.Sc. London, 1925; Ph.D. Harvard, 1931. Monetary history of Canada, 1914-1926. *Harvard*.
- F. O. DARVAL, B.A. London, 1926; B.A. Reading (England), 1928. Public sentiment on Anglo-American relations, 1783-1812. *Columbia*.
- MARJORIE RUTH DILLEY, A.B. Colorado, 1923; A.M. Washington, 1928. Recent developments in the technique of British colonial administration. *Washington* (Seattle).
- MARGARET E. ELLS, B.A. Dalhousie, 1925; M.A. 1930. The development of Nova Scotia, 1784-1830. *London*.
- E. H. EVANS, A.B. Macalester, 1923; A.M. Wisconsin, 1928; Ph.D. 1931. The tariff factor in Britain's intra-imperial relations, 1846-1924. *Wisconsin*.
- A. R. FOLEY, A.B. Dartmouth, 1920; A.M. Wisconsin, 1924. The French-Canadian invasion of New England. *Harvard*.
- AVALINE FOLSOM, A.B. Smith, 1917; A.M. Columbia, 1930. The Royal Colonial Institute. *Columbia*.
- H. L. GIBB, A.B. Michigan State Normal, 1913; A.M. Michigan, 1921. The diplomacy of the acquisition of northwest territory. *Michigan*.
- R. C. GILLIES, A.B. Princeton, 1920. A comparison of railway rates in the United States and Canada. *Johns Hopkins*.
- C. G. GILMORE. The constitutional and financial aspects of the administration of Lord Dalhousie in Canada. *Durham*.
- WILHELMINA GODWARD, A.B. California, 1921; A.M. 1927. The decline of British control of the middle northwest. *California*.
- NORMAN LEON GOLD, B.A. British Columbia, 1929. American migrations to Canada in recent times. *California*.
- H. GOLDEN, B.A. Manitoba, 1923; M.A. 1924; A.M. Harvard, 1926. The rise of popular culture in old Canada, to 1850. *Harvard*.
- IRENE M. HARPER, B.A. 1925; M.A. 1928-9. The history of the real old-timers of Fort Edmonton, Canada (N.W.T.) and its hinterland, 1835-1905. *Cambridge*.
- L. A. HARPER, A.B. California, 1922; A.M. 1924. The enforcement of the navigation acts in England and America, 1660-1696. *Columbia*.
- VIRGINIA D. HARRINGTON, A.B. Barnard, 1924; A.M. Columbia, 1925. The New York merchant in the eighteenth century. *Columbia*.
- SYLVESTER HEMLEBEN, A.B. Iowa, 1927; A.M. 1928. The British dominions in the League of Nations. *Columbia*.
- A. E. HUTCHESON, A.B. Reed, 1925; A.M. California, 1929. Constitutional development in Nova Scotia, 1758-1848. *Pennsylvania*.

- H. JAMESON, A.B. Michigan, 1921; A.M. 1925. Organization of militia in the American Revolution. *Michigan*.
- J. A. JONASSON, A.B. Linfield, 1926; A.M. Washington, 1929. The Riel Rebellions. *Stanford*.
- O. A. KINCHEM, A.B. Oklahoma, 1916; A.M. 1920. Lord John Russell and Canadian self-government. *Iowa*.
- HEINZ KUHN, Ph.D. Leipzig, 1930. Die Canadian Pacific Railway Company, ihre Finanzierung und Rentabilität. *Leipzig*.
- SYDNEY LAWRENCE, B.A. McMaster, 1923; M.A. 1929. Religious equality in British North America. *Toronto*.
- HEINZ LEHMANN. Zur Geschichte des Deutschtums in Kanada. *Berlin*.
- DOROTHY E. LONG, B.A. Toronto, 1923; M.A. 1928. Edward Ellice. *Toronto*.
- R. P. LUDLUM, A.B. Cornell, 1930. The development of commerce on the Great Lakes, 1825-1860. *Cornell*.
- W. H. McCLURE, A.B. Michigan, 1928; A.M. Ohio State, 1929. Opinion on the colonies and colonial policy in England during the Restoration, 1660-1689. *Michigan*.
- NORMAN MACDONALD, B.A. Queen's, 1913; A.M. Harvard, 1920. The imperial land regulations as applied to Canada, 1763-1841. *Edinburgh*.
- R. O. MACFARLANE, B.A. Queen's, 1924; M.A. 1925; A.M. Harvard, 1928. British Indian policy in the northern department, to 1763. *Harvard*.
- MARGUERITE M. McKEE, A.B. Smith, 1920; A.M. 1922. Supplies of the American army in the War of 1812. *Columbia*.
- DONALD C. C. MASTERS, B.A. Toronto, 1930; M.A. 1931. Canada and the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. *Toronto*.
- BROTHER MEMORIAN (JOHN A. SHEEHY), A.B. Manhattan, 1929. The Oblate Order in western Canadian development. *Toronto*.
- C. H. METZGER, A.B. St. Louis, 1913; A.M. 1914; B.A. Oxford, 1926; Ph.D. Michigan, 1930. Colonial reaction to the religious clauses of the Quebec Act. *Michigan*.
- W. O. MISHOFF, A.B., A.M. Iowa, 1923. The Indian policy of Sir William Johnson. *Iowa*.
- M. M. MITCHELL, B.A. British Columbia, 1926; A.M. Clark, 1927. Provincial agents of British North America before 1867. *Columbia*.
- ARTHUR HENRY MOEHLMAN, A.B. Rochester, 1928; A.M. Michigan, 1930. The Red River of the north: An analysis of the advance of the frontier of settlement in the area from 1850-1890. *Michigan*.
- D. V. MORFORD, A.B. Indiana, 1922; A.M. Wisconsin, 1926. Detroit in the British administration of the west. *Michigan*.
- HUGH M. MORRISON, B.A. British Columbia, 1930; A.M. Clark, 1931. Canadian federal homestead and preemption acts; their sources and operation. *Clark*.
- W. O. MULLIGAN, B.A. Manitoba; M.A. Dalhousie; LL.B. Manitoba; B.D. Manitoba Theological College. The influence of the British Reform Act of 1832 on political opinion in Canada. *McGill*.
- JEAN E. MURRAY, B.A. Saskatchewan, 1922; M.A. 1923; M.A. Toronto, 1924. The relation of the Hudson River fur trade to that of the St. Lawrence, 1603-1713. *Chicago*.
- MARION O'NEIL, A.B. California, 1923; A.M. 1924. The North West Company on the Pacific slope. *California*.
- WILLIAM D. OVERMAN, S.B. Ohio State, 1925; A.M. 1926; Ph.D. 1931. Tariff relations between the United States and Canada, 1867-1900. *Ohio State*.
- RALPH E. PAGE, A.B. Bluffton, 1926; A.M. Syracuse, 1928. Reciprocity laws and agreements. *Syracuse*.
- PETER F. PALMER, B.A. British Columbia, 1925; M.A. British Columbia, 1926. The fiscal history of British Columbia in the colonial period. *Stanford*.
- ROBERT J. PARKER, A.B. California at Los Angeles, 1929; A.M. California, 1930. The Iroquois and the English fur trade. *California*.
- J. C. PAUTZ, A.B. Northwestern, 1916. The development of manufactures in the Great Lakes basin. *Columbia*.
- JAN GABRIEL PEROLD, B.A. Cape of Good Hope, 1899; B.D. Princeton, 1904; M.A. Toronto, 1926. Unemployment in Canada. *Toronto*.
- DONALD J. PIERCE, B.A. Queen's, 1929; M.A. 1930. The Hudson's Bay Company from the coalition of 1821 to the transfer to Canada, 1870. *Toronto*.
- ELEANOR POLAND, A.B. Radcliffe, 1923; A.M. 1926. Reciprocity negotiations between Canada and the United States, 1866-1911. *Radcliffe*.

- J. S. PRENTICE, B.A. Queen's, 1920; M. A. 1927. Canadian federal finance since 1900. *Chicago*.
- WINIFRED B. RAMSELL, B.A. British Columbia, 1924; A.M. Wisconsin, 1929. The rise of political parties in British Columbia. *Wisconsin*.
- D. S. REID, M.A. St. Andrews. British public opinion on Anglo-American relations, 1783-1812. *St. Andrews*.
- E. M. REID, B.A. Toronto, 1927; B.A. Oxford, 1929. The party system in Canada from Confederation to the present day. *Oxford*.
- RUTH E. SANDBORN, A.B. Lawrence College, 1920; A.M. Northwestern, 1921. The United States and the British northwest, 1865-70. *Northwestern*.
- STANLEY ALEXANDER SAUNDERS, B.A. Dalhousie, 1928; M.A. Toronto, 1931. Industry and trade in the Maritimes. *Toronto*.
- F. L. SAWYER, A.B. Clark, 1913; A.M. Michigan, 1925. The Great Lakes as a factor in westward movement. *Michigan*.
- S. M. SCOTT, B.A. British Columbia, 1921; M.A. Toronto, 1922. The administration of the government of Canada, 1764-1774. *Michigan*.
- V. G. SETSER, A.B. Montana, 1925; A.M. Illinois, 1926. The commercial reciprocity policy of the United States, 1774-1860. *Pennsylvania*.
- CHARMION C. SHELBY, A.B. Texas, 1922; A.M. 1927. Spanish and French relations on the Texas-Louisiana frontier, 1700-1750. *Texas*.
- BORIS PETER SKEY, B.A. Prague, 1925; M.S.A. Toronto, 1931. Co-operation in agriculture in Ontario. *Toronto*.
- A. E. SMITH, A.B. Colby College (U.S.A.). Colonial history, 17th century. *Oxford*.
- J. P. SMITH, S.B. Chicago, 1924; Ph.D. 1930. Certain aspects of the movement for the annexation of Canada, 1865-1872. *Chicago*.
- C. P. STACEY, B.A. Toronto, 1927; Oxford, 1929. The army and the empire; the problem of Canadian military responsibility, 1846-1871. *Princeton*.
- C. L. STEWART, A.B. California, 1927; A.M. 1929. Spanish activities on the north-west coast, 1789-1794. *California*.
- WILLIAM HENRY TAYLOR, B.A. British Columbia, 1928. Canadian-United States tariff reciprocity. *California*.
- GOTTFRIED HANS TEUSCHER, Ph.D. Leipzig, 1930. Der Werdegang Canadas zum Dominion von 1867. *Leipzig*.
- WILLIAM HAMILTON TROOP, B.A. Toronto, 1924; M.A. McGill, 1929. Canada and the empire since 1867. *Toronto*.
- KUAN-YING WANG, B.A. National Central University, 1926; M.A. Toronto, 1930. City government in Canada. *Toronto*.
- W. M. WHITELAW, B.A. Toronto, 1910; D.B. Union Theological Seminary, 1914; A.M. Columbia, 1920. The Charlottetown and Quebec Conferences of 1864. *Columbia*.

THESES FOR THE MASTER'S DEGREE

- F. D. ANDERSON, B.Lit. Columbia, 1930. The development of co-operative news-gathering in the Dominion of Canada. *Columbia*.
- C. ARTHUR ANNIS, B. Comm. Toronto, 1930. The Canadian tariff problem. *Cornell*.
- GERARD AUDET. Le développement et l'avenir de l'industrie de la pêche au Canada. *Montréal*.
- ROBERT MACQUEEN BALDWIN, B.A. Cambridge, 1927. R. B. Sullivan. *Toronto*.
- CLARENCE EDWARD BEACON, B.A. Toronto, 1930. The political writings of William Lyon Mackenzie, 1824-1837. *Toronto*.
- RENÉ BEAULNE, B.A. Montréal, 1929. Le rôle économique de la navigation intérieure au Canada. *Montréal*.
- C. E. BELANGER, B.A. Montréal, 1929. Le développement économique des Cantons de l'Est. *Montréal*.
- HELEN BENTILIER, B.A. British Columbia, 1931. The natural resources problem in Alberta, 1905-1930. *British Columbia*.
- LLOYD BERNSTEIN, B.A. McMaster, 1931. The relation between the American and Canadian labour movements. *Toronto*.
- ADRIEN BOUVIER. L'impôt sur le chiffre d'affaires au Canada. *Montréal*.
- EMILY MARIE BOWLES, A.B. California, 1930. Influence of New Netherland upon the English colonies in North America. *California*.
- DONALD WILBERT BUCHANAN, B.A. Toronto, 1931. The freight rate structure of Canada. *Toronto*.

- J. T. BURROWS, B.A. 1929. The early colonisation of New Zealand compared with that of America. *University of New Zealand*.
- J. C. CAMERON, B.Com. Queen's, 1929. A statistical study of Canadian bank balance sheets. *Queen's*.
- MARJORIE CHAPPELL, B.A. London, 1929. The select committee of 1861 on colonial military expenditure, and its antecedents. *London*.
- R. D. CHOQUETTE, B.A. Montréal, 1928. L'avenir des combustibles au Canada. *Montréal*.
- M. H. CHURCHILL, A.B. Barnard, 1929. Legislation in the New England states affecting aliens. *Columbia*.
- NORMAN M. CLARKE, B.A. British Columbia, 1930. Development of political parties in British Columbia since 1871. *British Columbia*.
- JACK CYRIL CLOUGH, B.A. Toronto, 1930. Bishop Stewart. *Toronto*.
- JAMES GORDON COBURN, B.A. Toronto, 1928. The changing conditions of the wholesaler in Canada. *Toronto*.
- A. COHEN, A.B. College of the City of New York, 1929. Sir James Stephen and the British Empire. *Columbia*.
- VICTOR B. J. COLLINS, B.A. Toronto, 1928. Bishop Mountain (to 1839). *Toronto*.
- HENRY DRUMMOND DEE, B.A. British Columbia, 1927. The Hudson's Bay Company on Vancouver Island. *British Columbia*.
- GÉRARD DUGUAY, B.A. Laval, 1929. La politique des placements d'assurance-vie au Canada. *Montréal*.
- GÉRARD DUROCHER. La concurrence de la route, du chemin de fer et du fleuve au Canada. *Montréal*.
- PAUL E. DUTIL, B.S. Laval, 1928. La politique économique de Sir Wilfrid Laurier. *Montréal*.
- JOSEPH SAMUEL EAKIN, B.Com. Toronto, 1928. The financial system of the City of Toronto. *Toronto*.
- FRANK L. ESTERQUIST, A.B. Northwestern, 1931. Relations between the United States and Canada on the New York-Vermont frontier, 1783-1815. *Northwestern*.
- ANNA M. FANKHAUSER, B.L. California, 1909. Newfoundland under the mercantile system. *California*.
- ROLAND FAVREAU, B.A. Montréal, 1929. La politique financière du Canada pendant la guerre, 1914-18. *Montréal*.
- REGINALD WILLIAM FINLAYSON, B.A. Toronto, 1930. Transport beyond the railroads in the north. *Toronto*.
- EDMOND FRENETTE, B.A. Laval, 1929. L'étatisation des chemins de fer au Canada. *Montréal*.
- WALLACE W. GOFORTH, B.A. Toronto, 1924. The Canadian tariff, a political instrument and an economic expedient. *McGill*.
- JOHN GOUGH, B.A. British Columbia, 1928; A.M. Washington (Seattle), 1931. Canada at the Imperial Conferences, 1887 to 1930. *Washington (Seattle)*.
- PAUL E. GOYET, B.A. Montréal, 1928. L'industrie de la chaussure dans la province de Québec. *Montréal*.
- RUTH A. F. GRANT, B.Com. Dalhousie, 1929; B.A. 1930. The fishing industry of the Maritime Provinces. *Toronto*.
- DOROTHEA GRAVES, B.A. Queen's, 1928; M.A. 1929. The influence of the United Empire Loyalists on the early political development of Upper Canada. *Queen's*.
- MARGARET BIRKMIRE HAMMOND, A.B. California, 1930. Administrative features of the English mercantile system (based on navigation acts). *California*.
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- CARL GEORGE WINTER, A.B. California, 1929. A history and exploration of the Keewatin district, Northwest Territories, Canada, to the year 1800. *California*.
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REVIEW ARTICLE

SOME RECENT ASPECTS OF BRITISH CONSTITUTIONAL LAW¹

In this annual survey two books deserve attention, which, while lying largely outside our particular category, touch incidentally constitutional law. The first, by Professor Laski, from this point of view, draws important attention to the theory of the state and to the administration of local government. Although not a lawyer, Professor Laski possesses a remarkable knowledge of constitutional and administrative law, combined with a brilliant and provocative style. No citizen of the empire, interested in the problems which lie ahead of it, ought to neglect Professor Laski's analyses of the functions of the state and of the implication for local authorities in the famous *Poplar Case*. The issues raised in both connections are common to all the nations of the commonwealth. Incidentally, too, Mr. Laski touches on the growth of administrative law, a subject to which Professor C. K. Allen gives important attention. Mr. Allen has done a signal service to students of constitutional law in reprinting many of his learned discussions. It is quite clear that "the rule of law" is no longer functioning as the average student and citizen understand those words, and that the public life of England is being so bureaucratized that it is impossible to speak with truth of a régime of administrative justice. Mr. Allen's strictures are none too strong, and it is evident beyond controversy that English constitutional law has lost much of its traditional virtues. Most important, too, for all the British nations is the evidence that parliament has grown cynical, if not weary, in guarding its position as a representative institution and that it delegates powers, either in comprehensive generosity or in vague obscurities,

¹*Studies in law and politics*. By HAROLD J. LASKI. London: Allen and Unwin. 1932. Pp. 229. (\$3.25)

Bureaucracy triumphant. By CARLETON KEMP ALLEN. Oxford: At the University Press. 1931. Pp. 148.

The problem of federalism: A study in the history of political theory. By SOBEI MOGI. With a preface by Professor HAROLD J. LASKI. 2 volumes. London: Allen and Unwin. 1931. Pp. 1144. (\$10.75)

Changes in the legal structure of the British Commonwealth of Nations. By ROBERT A. MACKAY. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 1931. Pp. 85.

An introduction to British constitutional law. By ARTHUR BERRIEDALE KEITH. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1931. Pp. xii, 243. (\$2.50)

Constitutional law: An outline of the law and practice of the constitution, including English local government, the constitutional relations of the British Empire and the church of England. By E. C. S. WADE and G. GODFREY PHILLIPS. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1931. Pp. xxii, 476. (\$7.00)

Statute of Westminster (22 Geo. V. c. 4).

National sovereignty and judicial autonomy in the British Commonwealth of Nations. By HECTOR HUGHES. London: P. S. King and Son. 1931. Pp. xv, 184. (9s.)

Le Statut de Westminster. Par ERNEST LAPOINTE. (Extrait de la *Revue trimestrielle canadienne*, livraison de mars, 1932.) Montreal: 1932. Pp. 20.

with the result that administrative despotism is on the increase. Mr. Allen's little book ought to be widely read. Already in Canada there has grown up the beginnings of a system to which he draws such challenging attention, and it is important that we should early understand some of its implications and dangers. The book will form an important corrective to Dicey's *Law of the constitution*, which, in all serious study, has now assumed a place of historical interest only, and has lost any practical worth which it may once have possessed.

The second book, of a more general nature, to which I have referred is that by Mr. Sobei Mogi, who, as a student of Professor Laski, has inevitably become interested in federalism which, unfortunately perhaps, does not contain to-day such promise of hope for the world as it once seemed to possess. It lies beyond our review to consider Mr. Mogi's conceptions for the development of a decentralized unitary state or to review his estimate of the literature of federalism. The former is challenging and interesting, the latter is almost encyclopædic, especially in connection with the German political theorists. On the other hand, we do not think that Mr. Mogi has carried out his aim of providing a study in "practical application". The chapters on British federalism are from this point of view almost prosaic—the sections on Canada and Australia being practically barren. Mr. Mogi has not penetrated to the secret depths of causation and, above all, he has not studied the functional or "practical application" of the federal principle in either federation. The political scientist has much to contribute to such a study. On the whole, Mr. Mogi is well informed, though he completely overstates Durham's position in relation to the development of responsible government (p. 226).

The functional approach to constitutional law is evident in the books by Professor Berriedale Keith and Messrs. Wade and Phillips. Professor Keith's book is perhaps the best approach to English constitutional law yet written. This does not mean that it is elementary—far from it. It is a brilliant survey by an acknowledged scholar; and, in laying emphasis on matters of modern legal importance, it will guide young students to those aspects which demand attention, while its very omissions will serve to warn them to avoid ancient and effete problems which are now almost legal curiosities. For the general reader no better book is available. He would be well advised to avoid those descriptive "political" and "governmental" and "civic" textbooks which as often as not are misleading and obscure, and, masquerading as law, encourage the growth of ignorance. Professor Keith's book has the qualities of good law, solid learning, of challenging courage. It will promote investigation rather than provide cut and dried information. It is full of modern issues and the older antiquarian discussions are relegated to their real place as merely of historical interest.

Perhaps the best general discussion of British constitutional law now available is that by Messrs. Wade and Phillips. There has long been need for such a book. Students have already begun to put Ridges, Dicey, and even Anson on their shelves within at least hailing distance of Blackstone and Bagehot, and have been waiting a survey from the point of view of newer and more urgent problems. We believe that the

authors to a large extent have satisfied this need. Both are practical lawyers and eminent and experienced teachers, and they thus bring to their work invaluable qualifications. First of all, their scheme is admirable. A suggestive discussion of the nature of constitutional law and of its general principles affords an admirable introduction to a review of the law in relation to executive, legislature, and judiciary, in which, however, history and historical developments are duly subordinated to a firm belief that it is a living system which is under study. The same approach characterizes the treatment of local government, of the citizen and the state, of military and "martial" law, of public meetings, of church and state, of the British Commonwealth. The reader is conscious, in all these divisions of the subject, of present-day issues, of social functioning and interests and not of legal atomistic individuals. On almost every page there is a critical challenge because of that insistence on constitutional life and purpose which ought to form, and does, indeed, form, the very core of constitutional law. Information and facts—wide and generally accurate—are used for purposes of analyses, for a certain amount of legal philosophy. This last aspect is welcome, as decayed principles have too long done duty for juristic realism.

The book is not free from errors. For purposes of this review, however, it is only necessary to suggest that the discussions on the British Commonwealth should be carefully revised. First of all, there are several errors of fact or interpretation (*e.g.* pp. 350, 354-5). Second, and more important, there has been an acknowledged difference of opinion between the authors over the treatment of this problem, which has been contributed by Mr. Phillips (pp. x, 365). We respectfully submit—especially as "law and practice" is included in the title of the book—that too much emphasis is laid on the strict law. We feel confident that a new edition will shortly be called for, and we would suggest that these chapters might be rewritten. A statement of the strict law might precede a survey of the place held by custom and practice, and thus a balanced view of a situation, typically British, would emerge. As it is, the chapters are somewhat out of sympathy with the general atmosphere of the book, which is one of fine promise in its social and functional significance.

The developments in inter-commonwealth relationships since 1926—succinctly and authoritatively summarized by Professor R. A. MacKay—still continue to give rise to learned discussions. The Statute of Westminster has now become law, and, for better or for worse, a certain amount of legal definition has been introduced. The statute may shortly be summarized: The Colonial Laws Validity Act will no longer apply to the laws of a dominion or to those of the Canadian provinces. The section also grants the legislatures concerned powers to repeal acts of the parliament of the United Kingdom in so far as the same are part of the local law. Thus the doctrine of repugnancy disappears. Unqualified extraterritorial powers are now included among the legislative powers of the parliament of a dominion. The Merchant Shipping Act and the Colonial Courts of Admiralty Act are in certain aspects modified or repealed in relation to the dominions. Certain saving clauses protect the constitutions of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand and the application of the act to Australia, New Zealand, and Newfoundland.

For purposes of this review interest settles in the clause which guards the British North America Acts:—"Nothing in this Act shall be deemed to apply to the repeal, amendment, or alteration of the British North America Acts, 1867 to 1930, or any order rule or regulation made thereunder." This clause represents the exact terms of agreement between the dominions and the provinces at the Dominion-Provincial Conference of April, 1931, and the exact terms accepted by the parliament of Canada. Whatever its implications, it thus carries with it Canadian authority. Elsewhere¹ I have recently discussed the situation in detail and I do not think it necessary to examine it again here as I have nothing new to contribute to it. I merely refer to it in order to emphasize the necessity of a wider point of view than mere laws—a necessity to which I have just drawn attention in criticising Messrs. Wade and Phillips's discussion. The truth, as I see it, is that the section represents realism and common sense. Doubtless the provinces have now established an important precedent, but quite apart from the binding force of such a probability there were forces of constitutional legal rigidity in existence amply sufficient to give birth to the clause, even if the Dominion-Provincial Conference of April, 1931, had never been called. I hope to see procedure develop which will lead us away from attempts to juggle by legal change with the British North America Acts. Such attempts are nearly always productive of situations which call for more legal controversies. I believe we can best develop by leaving the acts and the law alone, and by warping them to our will, as occasion arises, through consultation. There is no use changing them, and much to be lost in further legal rigidity; whereas goodwill and the compelling forces of economic and political demands can make the most rigid legality as flexible as the daily life of the nation.

Perhaps the most interesting effect of the Statute of Westminster is the power now given indirectly to Canada and to its provinces to control appeals to the judicial committee. With the disappearance of the doctrine of repugnancy, it will be possible for the dominion or any or all of its provinces to repeal the judicial committee acts which, I venture to submit, effectively control the prerogative. There will not then be any occasion for further sorrow over "limitations on our autonomy"—one less lamentation by the waters of Babylon. We shall wait with interest to see what action will be taken, for theory now faces the test of facts. One thing, however, ought to be avoided—action by any single province. Such action would produce in Canada legal chaos, similar to that which has prevailed in Australia.

In connection with appeals Mr. Hector Hughes's book is admirable. It is true that it is largely a brief; but it is a well-argued brief, singularly unemotional and restrained. In its general principles we can give sincere support, for we have always believed that judicial autonomy is of more importance for the social purposes of a dominion than almost anything else. The book, however, will have another important function in that it will assist us in getting a more balanced view of the past dealings in the Free State with appeals to the judicial committee. These

¹*Law quarterly review*, XLVIII, April, 1932, 191-217.

have been, in some degree at least, misjudged, and it is of great value to have the issues discussed as calmly as Mr. Hughes has done.

I have reserved for final notice the Hon. Ernest Lapointe's brilliant and suggestive study, which is all the more valuable in that it is written for a non-parliamentary and non-political occasion. Mr. Lapointe develops his discussion from an important point of view: "*la subordination est remplacée par la coopération, et la contrainte par la liberté*"—a phrase which not only sums up the constitutional evolution, but also is pregnant with rich promise of achievement. "Liberty" and "co-operation" have been, as far as Canada is concerned, the principles which in the past have prevailed; and assuredly they alone can form a sure anchorage for the future. Mr. Lapointe's study has a further significance. It is important to learn and to appreciate the attitude of perhaps the greatest French-Canadian constitutional lawyer of his day on constituent powers and on appeals to the privy council. That he does not stand alone in his province is well known. I should like, in addition, to record my appreciation of the clarity and charm of his style and of the sense of that deeper unity which transcends form. As Professor MacKay has finely said: "Will, not force or legal forms, must be the cement of the Empire . . . Will implies mutual confidence, mutual forbearance, mutual good faith. Not by standing on rights, but by subordinating rights to the common good, not by seeking individual advantage but by subordinating the individual interests to the interests of all when they conflict, can the Commonwealth be maintained. The unity of the British Commonwealth of Nations is at bottom a moral unity, and only in the exercise of a highly-refined political morality is there hope for its continuance."

W. P. M. KENNEDY

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Quebec of Yester-Year. By ARTHUR G. DOUGHTY. Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1932. Pp. 198; 16 illustrations. (\$3.00)

AUTHOR and publishers are both to be congratulated on the body, soul, and spirit of this book. Its body is decidedly attractive to the discriminating eye. How gladly would any reader of good taste turn from the loathsomely debasing daubs on so many hideous "jackets" to the delightful picture which so appropriately heads the "jacket" here—the enticing colour-print of Batchelor's lifelike picture of Talon's welcome arrival in a most promising habitant household at the very heyday of the king's own royal province of New France. The blue and grey-blue binding is also in the best of taste; and, with the well-set illustrated text, makes the body a befitting fabric for the soul.

The soul of French Quebec has long appealed to Dr. Doughty, who was once a Quebec official, in daily touch with all the records of the past. Since then he has been in charge of those vast and ever-growing Dominion Archives which are concerned with Canadian history at large. Yet, however far afield he goes, he never can forget Quebec, from which so much originating history sprang, and where, to judge from his more personal writings, he still finds by far the most congenial spirit of his work. Indeed, readers of the present book who have insight might well be excused for imagining that he had once received some genuine transfusion from the life-blood of New France. For, if such readers let their fancy roam, they will soon find themselves among what almost seem to be his living recollections of the *vie intime* he personally found at work and play among both French and French-Canadians in Quebec during the old régime. He reminiscently recalls many significant personal touches connected with every important phase of life in French Quebec. There are intimate scenes from every act in that appealing drama: scenes of the pioneers in exploration, trade, state, church, arms, settlement, and social life; scenes of the short but glorious colonising age of Talon; scenes of the warring time of Frontenac; scenes of the far more peaceful age which followed; and, finally, scenes from the last disastrous decade, when Bigot, Vaudreuil, and Montcalm were the knave, fool, and hero of a perishing New France.

A meticulous critic could find a good deal here to cavil at; if only because there must be many questions of omission when even the truest short and local tales are told about the intimately human side of a long and complex general history. But somehow Dr. Doughty does select those salient parts which give a very fair idea of the concurrent greater whole. And if the super-critic should point out that two of the pictures chosen from the Dominion Archives date from the wrong régime, a critic with more imagination might reply that even these anachronisms (on pages 38 and 118) are justifiable enough; because, though British, and of the early nineteenth century, they still, like Dr. Doughty's text, are distinctly reminiscent of the French régime.

A few points are rather more open to a little juster criticism. Dr. Doughty hardly makes his readers feel the overwhelming influence of sea-power at every turn, even at every social turn. Shipping, ship-building, ocean fleets, and even the countless flotillas of peace or war canoes on every inland waterway—all together, were of overwhelming importance to the very life of French Quebec. On page 132 his "rifles" are a little slip for smooth-bore muskets. On page 73 his reference to the "crafty savage" might lead people far less learned than himself to think that perfidious Denonville was not a great deal worse. And, in all his references to the Iroquois and their terrific raids, why does Dr. Doughty forget to quote those quintessential dozen words in which the Jesuits who knew Canada told the home-bound French ones just exactly how these particularly "crafty" savages carried out surprise attacks? "They approach like foxes, attack like lions, and fly away like birds."

Is it, perhaps, only a hypercritical reviewer who would go one step further, to ask why Dr. Doughty, with his own vast knowledge of the higher factors at work in all historic problems, makes no special mention of the higher intellectual faculties at work in the greatest of all scientists and the greatest of all commanders to be found in the history of New France. On page 116 Dr. Michel Sarrazin gets full credit for his devotion to the poor, for his notes "on some Canadian mammals", and for "discovering the curative properties" of "Saracenia". But he is not credited with being by far the most original biologist whom New France ever saw—so original, indeed, that there was nothing incongruous in his having been elected as an oversea correspondent at the same supremely important royal charter meeting of the Académie des Sciences in Paris (on March 4, 1699) as was likewise chosen for the associate election of Sir Isaac Newton.

Montcalm is given all due credit for his honesty in a country really ruled by thieves, for his devoted service in a great lost cause, and for his heroic death. But the single page in which his great commandship might well have been explained is missing. With the overwhelming influence of sea-power against him; with a fool of a governor like Vaudreuil, and a knave of an intendant like Bigot to thwart him at every turn; with a robbed, misgoverned, perishing New France on which to base his operations; with forces made up of five ill-assorted parts—French regulars, Canadian regulars, Canadian militiamen, seamen of sundry kinds, and Indian allies—five ill-assorted parts which never once formed one co-operating whole; and with even the land forces of the enemy greatly exceeding his own within the theatre of war: with all these tremendous odds against him, he still contrived to win three victorious campaigns, to win a fourth victory during his last campaign, and to do all that human wit could do to stave off a final defeat which was in no way due to any shortcomings of his own. He nearly always appears in books made out of other books as merely the unhappy and outwitted hero of a single fight. Dr. Doughty, of course, knows all the enlightening truth, based on the original evidence, which has never been so well arranged as by his own skilled hand. So, if only for this reason, one cannot help regretting his silence on the true commanding

greatness of Montcalm, whose astonishing successes, against vast odds on both sides, have not been exaggerated in an inscription which has been suggested as recognizing his real claims to commemoration:

Quatre fois victorieux
Une fois vaincu
Toujours
Au grand honneur
Des armes de la France

But Dr. Doughty is not writing any formal history in this *Quebec of yester-year*. He is just using his vast archival knowledge for one alluring end—to tell us tales of *vie intime* in French Quebec. He sits beside us round the evening fire, not lecturing or delivering an address, but easefully talking of many an intriguing tragi-comedy, more especially of such as are of equal interest to both the men and women who are in the game of life to-day.

WILLIAM WOOD

Dictionnaire général de biographie, histoire, littérature, agriculture, commerce, industrie et des arts, sciences, mœurs, coutumes, institutions politiques et religieuses du Canada. Par le R. P. LE JEUNE. Ouvrage orné de 187 photographies et de 56 gravures hors-texte sur papier de luxe. Two volumes. Paris: Printed for the Université d'Ottawa. 1931. Pp. viii, 862; 827.

HERE is a remarkable piece of long and conscientious work which will be welcomed by historical students, and even by ordinary readers. It is the most ambitious publication of its kind that has yet appeared, as can be seen by its oecumenical but most cumbersome title. Besides the usual subjects of biography, history, and geography, it covers literature, industry, and commerce, and takes in, as well, political and religious institutions and even arts, sciences, manners, and customs. It is really an encyclopædia of all historical matters in two quarto volumes containing over sixteen hundred pages, implemented with two hundred and forty-three prints and twenty-two full-page maps. After one has been using it for some time, delving into its mass of methodical information on all possible questions, one is not surprised to know that it represents over twenty years of patient reading, searching, and sifting among all kinds of books, pamphlets, and manuscripts. Certainly Father Le Jeune has put Canadian historical workers under a heavy debt by presenting them with such an important contribution.

Naturally the biographies form by far the major part of the work. They run the whole gamut from Cabot to Lord Willingdon. To the great figures in Canadian history so often described, they have added a vast number of less prominent people and perhaps, after all, this is the most useful purpose of a biographical dictionary to supply information not so much on outstanding personalities as on more or less known persons who have played a small part of some historical value.

History proper is dealt with in many articles, under various headings: among others France, Great Britain, New France, Canada, and each of its provinces, while all treaties come under their proper names, and separate sketches are devoted to political events, constitutions, and administrative institutions. Geography receives a smaller share of

attention, being restricted to the most important rivers, battlefields, forts, and cities. Literature is only studied under the names of the various authors, English and French. Many articles are devoted to commerce and industry under the titles of the operating companies, or the trade carried on, or the commodities concerned, while financial institutions are also dealt with under general heads or the names of corporations. To arts and sciences are devoted a few sketches of a general nature, while their various representative bodies are made the subjects of brief articles. Religious sects and institutions have been given extensive attention as well as school questions. There is a bibliography of each article.

As can be seen by this summary, the author has mapped for himself a most ambitious programme. On the whole, he has succeeded in realizing it in a very commendable manner. Of course, being so extensive, the work was bound to present some failings. The surprise is rather that there should be so few. Beginning with accessories, it must be noted first that the maps—of which there is no list—are totally inadequate in their over-simplified form. As to illustrations, of which there is no list either, they are open to criticism. Fanciful or spurious portraits have been freely reproduced with no explanation; too much space has been sacrificed to insignificant contemporary effigies; there is a group of thirty-eight dignitaries without a single name attached to it; and to end with an individual case, the portrait of Admiral Du Quesne is given as that of the governor of the same name, who is called Marquis *de Du Quesne* (I., 561).

As to the biographies, the author has unfortunately broken the golden rule of restricting himself to the dead. By listing descendants, he has introduced into his book a number of absolutely insignificant people. He has in addition even let in openly a few persuasive and self-pleased notabilities. Certainly Father Le Jeune has been over-generous to his own cloth, when devoting so many pages to religious communities with no historical background. History did not require him to turn his dictionary into a parish year-book. Brevity would have been a virtue in several cases. On the other hand, the author has forgotten quite a number of well-known historical characters, who should be included in a next edition.

In listing his biographical subjects, the author has somehow not always followed the obvious rule of adopting as his guide the names recognized by history. As a result, there is some difficulty in finding certain names. For instance, why should Péan be listed under Livaudière, and Léry under Chaussegros, and Pontgravé under Du Pont? He has also stumbled over the French article, putting Meloizes under *des* Meloizes, Orsonnens under *d'*Orsonnens, etc.

It is not surprising to meet in such bulky volumes the usual number of typographical mistakes; still one is surprised to find that the accent has been omitted in the case of capital letters. It makes queer reading occasionally. English readers must be warned that the author has solved the "Mc" spelling riddle, by listing all such names under "Mac", so McGill becomes "Mac Gill," and McGee is "Mac Gee," with a full space between, and so on.

As to the text itself no doubt readers will not always agree with the author, and even in several cases will suggest corrections and additions. For this matter, the present reviewer could point to quite a few inaccuracies. This is but natural. Historical summaries and biographical writings are amongst the most treacherous pitfalls. If one can occasionally find fault with the *Dictionary of national biography*, in which articles are prepared by different specialized writers, one must not be surprised to find imperfections in such a bulky work as the present dictionary, which is the product of a single author. He had to rely on previous writings and could not be better than his sources, as individual checking of statements was absolutely out of the question. Such being the case, the present work, with whatever blemishes it contains, must rank as a monumental piece of work, a remarkable compilation of historical information and a most useful dictionary for all ranks of workers. A new edition, which is bound to come, by correcting its imperfections, would materially enhance its value.

GUSTAVE LANCÔT

The Canadian Grain Trade. By DUNCAN ALEXANDER MACGIBBON. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1932. Pp. xiv, 503. (\$4.00)

As observed by the author of this comprehensive study, "there is no branch of commerce in Canada whose practices have been more completely exposed by investigation to public view than the methods employed in buying, selling and handling grain." Since 1899 no less than five royal grain inquiry commissions have presented reports containing in the aggregate a vast amount of information concerning the marketing of Canada's major export commodity. Sessional papers, however, rarely command a popular circulation. Back in 1914 the late Robert Magill, first chief of the board of grain commissioners, wrote an excellent booklet under the title, *Grain inspection in western Canada*, and in the following year C. B. Piper, of the Empire Elevator Company, published an informative little volume on the *Principles of the grain trade in western Canada*, which Mr. MacGibbon acknowledges he "had in mind in preparing the present study". The far-reaching changes, however, that have since occurred in the production, transportation, and exportation of Canadian wheat, in government regulation and in co-operative marketing have rendered these earlier studies of little more than historic value. One may say, indeed, that there is no field of Canadian economic history or business, in which the specialised literature is so abundant, nor the statistical information so complete, as on the grain trade. What has been hitherto lacking, however, has been a synthetic and authoritative work which would not only trace the evolution of Canada's distinctive method of marketing grain, but also bring its manifold aspects under a treatment that, while not too technically formidable, would be thoroughly scientific, and that, while not propagandist in point of view, would be sympathetic to the interests of the various groups concerned.

It is in meeting this need that Mr. MacGibbon has rendered a conspicuous service in producing the volume under review. There are, indeed, few, if any, persons in Canada better qualified to undertake the task.

As a professor of political economy for over fifteen years, first at Brandon College, and later at the University of Alberta, he became a close resident student of the grain trade and of the farmers' co-operative movement in western Canada. As a member of the Turgeon Royal Grain Inquiry Commission of 1923-4 he participated in extended hearings in which representations of every interested group were presented, and in the writing of a major part of the commission's report, upon which far-reaching revisions of the Canada Grain Act were based. As a member since 1929 of the board of grain commissioners he has shared responsibility under conditions of unprecedented difficulty, in the administration of that act which plays so large a part in the national economy. His contact with the Canadian grain trade has thus been that of the student, the investigator, and the administrator.

Mr. MacGibbon's study falls into three indicated, but untitled parts. The first is concerned with the historical development of grain growing and exporting and of the regulation of the grain trade in Canada, from the French régime to "the disastrous years of 1929 and 1930". The second, and main part, deals descriptively with the organisation and functioning of the various elements in Canada's distinctive system of grain marketing: country and terminal elevators, inspection, transportation, the Winnipeg grain exchange, the grain companies and the wheat pool, financing, and federal regulation. Part III is primarily concerned with the outlook for the Canadian grain trade, dealing in turn with the milling industry, export demand, and international competition, and "the underlying conditions of production".

The two features to which the author gives the most painstaking attention, and in which his treatment is probably most instructive, are the subjects of transportation and terminal operations. Of all the important wheat-exporting countries Canada is at greatest geographic disadvantage in respect to the movement of its crop from the wheat fields to world markets. The methods by which Canada has handled the problems of excessively long rail hauls, of seasonal strain on railway equipment, of the ice-locked condition of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence route during five months of the year, of concentrating wheat stocks in strategic positions, of developing supplementary outlets by the Pacific and Hudson Bay—these constitute an impressive record of bold experiment and national achievement, in the discussion of which Mr. MacGibbon exhibits a mastery of the economics and the strategy of the situation.

The system of bulk handling and sale by government grade certificate, on which Canada has built up its grain export trade, has carried with it the ever-present problem of maintaining the quality and uniformity of graded deliveries into, and out of, terminal and transfer elevators. The profit-seeking inducement to operators to dilute "flush" grades and "promote" lower grades by judicious "mixing" in terminal elevators has been a persistent source of grievance to growers and a perpetual occasion for vigilance on the part of the grain commissioners and the inspection service. The complexities of terminal elevator regulation and the evolution of grading control, culminating in the legislation of 1929-30, are discussed with the discrimination of the expert and the

discernment of the economist. Mr. MacGibbon's conclusion is that it is not "too much to claim that the method of handling of grain in bulk under government supervision has attained to a higher degree of technical efficiency in Canada than in any other country exporting grain."

The chapter which will probably command the greatest amount of popular interest is that (chapter XVII) in which he discusses the present international wheat crisis, and attempts to descry the outlook for Canadian grain. While fully recognizing the disastrous effect on wheat growers in exporting nations of the abnormal restrictions on grain imports by European countries, induced as they have been by considerations of international balance of payment and by demands of their own farmers for protection, he expresses the guarded view that "it does not seem possible in the present phase of the economic development of the world, that a policy of such far-reaching economic isolation can be maintained indefinitely." In regard to competition among wheat-exporting countries, it is pointed out that such restrictions tend to affect imports of Canada's premium wheat less seriously than that of her competitors, inasmuch as the weight of high specific duties will be least oppressive on high quality purchases, and as the limited quota of foreign wheat which cribs are allowed to blend with domestic stocks is likely to be of that sort which possesses high milling strength, a quality in which Canadian northern spring wheat excels. "These considerations", he states, "suggest that Canada can maintain her position in the international wheat market, but that in order to do so, she must continue to rely upon the highest quality of hard strong varieties of spring wheats."

While the book contains a carefully-written and highly impartial chapter on the Canadian wheat pool, the author states in his preface that he has "not dealt extensively with the cooperative movement, since this feature of western Canadian life has been most adequately treated in other studies." In discussing the much criticised "holding policy" of the pool in 1929, he observes that "many independent traders, while silent upon their trading policies, appear to have taken the same view of the market", but that "the Pool, on account of the number of its individual members, was compelled to make public for their information its general policy", thereby enabling its enemies to focus upon it the responsibility for European abstention from Canadian purchases. "We cannot really know", he states elsewhere, "what would have happened if the contrary policy had been followed. . . While the course of events has made it abundantly clear that the Canadian wheat grower, in the interests of a higher standard of living for himself, cannot impose his will on the foreign buyer, yet it is doubtful, in the peculiar circumstances of trade and industry in Canada in the autumn of 1929, whether a policy of forcing wheat sales by unexampled price-cutting would have better served the interests of the country as a whole."

The above passage is indicative of the cautious and judicial attitude maintained by the author in evaluating the pros and cons of contentious issues, as further exemplified in his guarded discussion of future trading (chapter XI) and the Hudson Bay route (appendix). While great care is evident in factual detail, one or two textual errors have escaped the proof-reading eye, such as the figures of 242,614 (instead of

142,614) for the total membership in the wheat pool (p. 344), and the inclusion of Jugo-Slovakia (*sic*) as a grain-exporting country (p. 420).

Although conditions in the Canadian grain trade are continually changing, Mr. MacGibbon's book is destined long to remain as the fullest and most authoritative work on the subject.

HARALD S. PATTON

Cabot's Surveys. By G. R. F. PROWSE. Winnipeg: The author, 159 Hargrave St. 1931. Pp. 44 (mimeographed). (\$1.00)

IN volume X, pages 161-62 of this REVIEW appeared a notice of a somewhat similar work by Mr. Prowse entitled *Exploration of the Gulf of St. Lawrence 1499-1525* wherein attention was drawn to many unsubstantiated statements. The present work is a continuation on identical lines. We are now informed that the explorations of the gulf in 1499-1500, known only to Mr. Prowse, were not by "a London adventurer" but by Thorne and Eliott, and that La Cosa's map of 1500 "can have no connection with Cabot's two voyages" (p. 8). Moreover "every part of the Cantino map [of 1502] was the result of English surveys and the Cortereals came only to examine the commercial possibilities of the new lands" (p. 5). Mr. Prowse, however, is "forced to admit, that each English ship carried a Portuguese pilot" (p. 11). In 1534 when Jacques Cartier, after a storm in the gulf, again sighted land at the Bay of Islands, which he tells us he named St. Julian's Bay, according to Mr. Prowse, "he cannot possibly have given this name which is carried back to an earlier date" (p. 8). Unfortunately Mr. Prowse, as usual, can give no proofs for these statements. While his conclusions are drawn from a long study of the maps from 1500 to 1785, yet for him "the nominal date, language and maker of a map has [*sic*] little significance"; "I judge a map", he says, "by its internal evidence" (p. 15). We have thus a further series of statements based for the most part on Mr. Prowse's mere *ipse dixit*.

John Cabot's landfall in 1497, he thinks, was not at Cape Breton but at Bonavista, Newfoundland, and that of 1498 "on the Labrador coast near Cape Harrigan" (p. 48). Greenland was never called Labrador, but always Greenland, and Labrador by its own name.

It may surprise Mr. Prowse to learn that as early as 1869 the late J. G. Kohl mentioned, when referring to an early map, that "Greenland, as usual, is called Labrador" and that in 1892 Herr Konrad Kretschmer in a volume on *Die Entdeckung Amerika's* (p. 327), which was issued by the Berlin Geographical Society to celebrate the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America, also drew attention to the fact that, on all the early maps, Greenland was called Labrador, and in the atlas which accompanied this volume, gave many proofs of the truth of that statement.

While we have no positive assurance that on La Cosa's map of 1500 the "sea discovered by the English" and the coast nearby dotted with English flags, refers to Cabot's voyage, there is no record of any other English expedition to those parts to which these flags could refer.

As Mr. Prowse also doubts the validity of the early Portuguese explorations on the Cantino and Caneiro maps, it might interest him to consult the anonymous Portuguese mappemonde of 1500 called the King

map, discovered in 1900: for on this he will find Cape Race marked in its proper place at the southern point of "Terra Cortereal" while across several hundred miles of open sea to the north-east lies Greenland under the name of "Terra Laboratoris". Moreover, the Pedro Reinel map of 1505 gives a complete Portuguese nomenclature of "Terra Cortereal" (our present Newfoundland and Labrador) from Cape Race northward as far as Cape Mugford in 58°, with, in addition, a scale of latitude to show what places are intended.

For Mr. Prowse, however, "pundits" like Kohl, Kretschmer, Dawson, Ganong, Williamson, and others seem to have wasted their time. "The townfolk of Bonavista kept June 24 last as a public holiday in honor of Cabot's landfall, on the spot which they believe is one of the great landmarks of the English world" (p. 2). As Newfoundland was not inhabited till after 1600, local tradition cannot count for much. Mr. Prowse himself also wisely adds, moreover, that "neither rhetoric nor sentiment will decide this matter". In his own case, however, one can see that only by abandoning the La Cosa map, has he been able to reach this conclusion.

H. P. BIGGAR

Cavelier de la Salle. Par M. CONSTANTIN-WEYER. Paris: Les Éditions Rieder. 1927. Pp. 285.

Les grandes figures coloniales. Champlain. Par M. CONSTANTIN-WEYER. Avec 11 gravures hors texte. Paris: Plon. 1931. Pp. ix, 241.

L'effort persévérant de Champlain. Par ÉTIENNE MICARD. Paris: Éditions Pierre Roger. 1929. Pp. 281.

AFTER a few topsyturvy years in the Canadian west, Mr. Constantin-Weyer served in the French army during the War. Soon after, he revealed great literary talents in several books on Canada, more or less true to facts. In 1928 he was granted the Prix Goncourt for his Canadian novel, *Un homme se penche sur son passé*. Now a popular writer, Mr. Constantin-Weyer invaded the historical field with *Cavelier de la Salle*. Let us be frank about it—it is not history at all. It is not even a "vie romancée". Intended for popular consumption and sales, it is simply, with an historical background, a succession of totally fanciful episodes, conversations, and descriptions. The method, no doubt, gives colour, life, and interest to the story, but it is not history. Even in reciting well-known facts, the author is far from being a safe guide. For instance, he speaks of refined Indian cooking (p. 93), of Verazzano following Cartier to Canada (pp. 164-5), and of "intendant" Perrot at Montreal (p. 189), and so on.

Mr. Constantin-Weyer has brought out a new book, *Champlain*, which is volume VIII of the series: *Les grandes figures coloniales*. Here, of course, he had to cut his cloth according to the pattern of the editors. As a result, *Champlain* is a better book than *Cavelier de la Salle*, imagination being replaced by history. But the author cannot entirely forget that he is, after all, a novelist. So his book resolves itself into a brief re-writing of the explorer's life in a style which is a mixture of nonchalance and flippancy. There is nothing new in the book, nor has the author

availed himself much of the printed material. Some chapters are mere pretence, like *La politique coloniale de Richelieu* while others serve only to fill up space. Besides, the author has accumulated the usual lot of heresies of laymen venturing beyond their depth. For instance, he claims that Canada fell because of Bigot's corruption (p. viii), that the Iroquois "parliamentary system" had its influence in England and the United States (p. 93). The story of LaRoche is all wrong (p. 36). There are quite a number of typographical mistakes, for instance "Thadacina" for "Stadacona" and Braccialos" for Baccalaos" (p. 5); "Ganache" for "Gamache" (p. 188); "Saut-Saint-Loup" for "Saut Saint-Louis" (p. 41). There is a very short bibliography.

With Mr. Étienne Micard, the reader reaches firmer ground. His story of Champlain is a serious piece of work, with stricter adherence to historical facts. Still, as the book is also intended for laymen, who have to be baited by the style as much as by the narrative, he has often resorted to the dialogue form but without departing from the authentic information. Nevertheless, one has to regret that, with the bibliography at his command, he should not have made a more extensive use of the abundant material in print concerning Champlain. He should have taken more pains to inform his readers about the identification of Champlain's routes of travel and to indicate the modern place-names which have been substituted since his time. The prints, reproduced from Champlain, are rather poor and bear no legends whatever.

GUSTAVE LANCTÔT

The Founding of Churchill: Being the Journal of Captain JAMES KNIGHT, Governor-in-Chief in Hudson Bay, from the 14th of July to the 13th of September, 1717. Edited with historical introduction and notes by JAMES F. KENNEY. Toronto: J. M. Dent. 1932. Pp. x, 213. (\$2.50)

It is hard for us to realize that while Quebec was being founded by Samuel de Champlain for France, Hudson Bay was being explored by Hudson, Button, and others for England, and that that great inland sea was well known before any of the Great Lakes from Ontario to Superior—on the shores of which are now so many magnificent cities—had been visited by many white men. People wanted furs and were willing to pay high prices for them, and the northern portion of North America contained vast numbers of fur-bearing animals whose skins produced the finest furs in the world, and the natives used these skins for clothing, tents, or other protection against the weather. Consequently favourable places on the shores of Hudson Bay, as well as similar places on the banks of the St. Lawrence River, were occupied by men who purchased the skins that the Indians were wearing or using, after which they induced or trained the Indians to hunt the fur-bearing animals, not to use their skins themselves, but to sell them to the white men who were willing to give in exchange articles that were useful to the Indians.

In this way a lucrative business was built up, both by the French and English, but while on the St. Lawrence and around the Great Lakes the fur industry was merely a precursor to the greater industries of agriculture, fishing, forestry, mining, *etc.*, on the shores of Hudson Bay

the fur industry did not lead to any other and its decline left the country a forgotten wilderness. The story of primitive life on the shores of the bay, however, is an exceedingly interesting one, and we have here the account of the founding of the most northerly of the old trading establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company, written by James Knight, the founder, a veteran employee of the company, for the information of the governor and committee of the company in London. Knight himself had been a member of the London committee so that he writes, not as a servant to a master in the manner of those days, but as an equal to an equal.

It was forty-one years since he had first come to the bay and he had doubtless been at all the company's establishments on its shores, Churchill being the last. The account of his two months spent at Churchill is a record of mental and physical misery. For several years while at York he had been making preparations to build a trading store at Churchill where he could be sure of obtaining a supply of furs from the Chippewyan Indians, and he boasted freely that the trade with those Indians was certain to be a very lucrative one. But Knight was, or had become, a chronic grumbler and his troubles and difficulties occupied his thoughts to the exclusion of everything else. Among other things, he dilates on the suffering of himself and his men from mosquitoes and other insects; though he had already lived for more than twenty years at other trading establishments on the shores of Hudson Bay, where the mosquitoes and black flies were just as bad as they were at Churchill, so that he must have been well used to them. Another of his miseries was that in 1715 Captain Davis did not bring the supply ship into York harbour, and on failing to find the harbour returned to England, leaving the people of the fort without goods to trade with the Indians for furs, and again in 1716 Captain Ward did not reach York until the beginning of September, when the men had about given up hope of a ship arriving at all that year. When Knight got to Churchill the northern (Chippewyan) Indians, on whom he was depending to trade for furs, had left for parts unknown and he laments that he was not able to find them. But such occurrences are incidental to life on the frontier, where the unexpected is constantly happening and must be accepted or endured cheerfully.

The journal as here published, copied by a member of the staff of the Canadian Archives, and subsequently compared and verified by a member of the staff of the Hudson's Bay Company in London, can be accepted as being correct.

While Knight's journal is a useful contemporary record of the founding of Churchill, Dr. Kenney's introduction, which comprises more than half the book, gives a history of Churchill and its surroundings from the discovery of the bay by Henry Hudson in 1611 down to the building of Fort Prince of Wales, the massive stone fortification on Eskimo Point, and its subsequent capture by the French under La Perouse in August, 1782. There is also given a sketch of the life of James Knight from May 16, 1676, when, "probably as a shipwright by trade", he entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, until some time between 1719 and 1721 when he and all his companions perished on a prospecting expedition in the bay in search of gold and copper.

In telling the story of Knight and Fort Churchill, Dr. Kenney, from his position as director of historical research in the Canadian Archives, and with the assistance of the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company in London, has supplied a large amount of new and accurate information about the personnel of the control of the fur trade on the bay, so that for the future it will be necessary for anyone who wishes to know who were operating in the north in those early days, and what they were doing, to refer to this book.

A bibliography and copious index add greatly to the usefulness of the book.

J. B. TYRRELL

New York City during the War for Independence with Special Reference to the Period of British Occupation. By OSCAR THEODORE BARCK. New York: Columbia University Press; London: P. S. King & Son. 1931. Pp. 267. (\$4.25)

NEW YORK will celebrate in 1933 the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the evacuation by the British of the city that had been their headquarters during the Revolutionary War. The University of the State of New York has already published an extensive handbook of the literature of the American Revolution in New York and the present volume is probably due to ideas related to the date of 1933. It is a careful study based on adequate research in the great volume of printed material. We have in it the detached spirit that in time will, it is to be hoped, end the tradition still strong among the masses in the United States that, during the Revolution, villainy was all on one side and virtue all on the other. "The Stamp Act", says Mr. Barck, "had not been passed to oppress the colonies, but to secure money for their protection" (p. 27). Clearly the thing was done tactlessly and New York resented it with an unanimity that disappeared later when more than half the population was on the Loyalist side. There are similarities between society in New York in 1775 and in the other York in Upper Canada half a century later. In both caste was strong. The governing circle and the leaders in the Church of England were the superior class with a fine scorn for democracy. The rabble that burnt chests of tea on the shore were viewed in New York with social scorn like that in Upper Canada for the radicals who turned to armed rebellion.

In successive chapters, well documented, Mr. Barck, in this apparently his first book, outlines the beginnings of the war that came to "a peaceful city". After the capture by the British army in 1776 it remained under military rule. There was at first some pillaging by the soldiers but the two Howes, the general and the admiral, established order. There were many well-to-do young officers in the British army who required balls and other gaieties for their diversion, with the marriages apt to follow such social intercourse. Mr. Barck has successive chapters on these and on police measures, health, food, fuel, trade, the press, the churches, the schools.

For Canadian readers the two concluding chapters on, "The military co-operation of the Loyalists" and "The exodus of the Loyalists and the return of the Americans" will have chief interest. Mr. Barck's style is

not vivid; but he is careful in drawing conclusions. He shows that the work of the Loyalist soldiers has been underestimated and he has no sympathy with the treatment of the Loyalists after the war. Methods on both sides fostered bitterness. Each ravaged the coasts occupied by the other. Crews from whale-boats descended on lonely houses and other weak points and robbed and burned. Cattle were driven off in raids by land. Mr. Barck notes that whigs and tories sometimes made reprobate agreements each to let the other rob, much as rival racketeers now may respect each other's territory.

The book has a long list of authorities that should be useful to other writers. Though Mr. Barck gives the *Winslow papers* in his list of authorities he makes little use of the picture in them of Loyalist life in New York. The treatment of prisoners kept by the British in the hulls at New York, the cause of frantic protest and hatred by the poet Freneau, is not mentioned. The final evacuation, with the British troops marching to their boats and the revolutionary soldiers following closely to their scene of jubilation, would have lent itself to vivid description. Though Washington and Carleton, the two opposing leaders, were both in New York on that momentous day, they did not meet. We know from the *Winslow papers* that Carleton seemed depressed, which was natural, and Washington could have had no desire to see this anguish. Though by this evacuation the British had formally withdrawn from the scene of their defeat, they still held the fortified posts on the Great Lakes, a cause of friction ended only thirteen years later by Jay's Treaty.

GEORGE M. WRONG

The Life and Times of the Hon. and Rt. Rev. Alexander Macdonell, D.D., First Bishop of Upper Canada, 1762-1840. By HUGH JOSEPH SOMERS. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America. Pp. ix, 232.

NOTWITHSTANDING sundry typographical and other minor errors, as well as certain statements to which exception might be taken, this doctoral thesis on one of the greatest of the "Makers of Canada" is a thoroughly competent and valuable piece of work. It consists of a preface, text with footnotes, original documents, bibliography, and index. Some day Father Somers might well embellish and amplify the story for the delectation and edification of the general reader, for inherent in it is that heroic quality which for long years past has made its appeal in Francis Parkman's *Jesuits in North America*.

The great bishop's contention (on page 94) that, by the capitulation of Quebec, his church "was acknowledged to be the Established Church of the Canadas", can hardly be conceded. Over against it is to be set the plain intimation, given to the governor-in-chief, General Murray, in 1763, from London, that the Roman Catholic Church was not to be so regarded, that privilege being reserved for the Church of England alone.

On the other hand, Father Somers overstates the case of the Church of England in Upper Canada when he refers to it as "the established church". That it never was, any more than it was in Lower Canada, despite its endowment under the Canada Act of 1791, the appointment of its parsons by the lieutenant-governor, the designation of its bishops

by the crown, and their consecration, firstly, by successive archbishops of Canterbury and, secondly, by the metropolitan of Canada, acting under royal mandamus down to 1863.

The glebes attached as landed endowments to the rectories created in 1836 seem never to have formed a part of the clergy reserves, as is commonly assumed. Following instructions similar to those issued from London in regard to glebes in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, they began to be set aside under regulations first promulgated by Lord Dorchester before the division of the old province of Quebec and consequently before the provision made for the reserves in the Canada Act, 1791. To the glebes, in 1836, title appears merely to have been given to the several rectors, special trustees having had to be appointed by the crown prior to that date in order that the parsons concerned might enjoy the benefits intended to inure to them. Appointments to the rectories were vested in the lieutenant-governor, as had been since 1792 those of "officiating ministers".

To substantiate all the statements made on page 134, at the beginning of the chapter entitled "The Rebellion of 1837", regarding which Bishop Macdonell played an admirable part, would be somewhat difficult. Father Somers is not correct in writing that "The Executive Council was the chief administrative body"; executive power lay with the lieutenant-governor himself and his office. There the business of the province originated and thence it worked its way to the council and to what we should call to-day the departmental offices. His excellency could, and did, act without reference to the executive council, whose members he was bound to consult on only a few specified subjects, without necessarily accepting at every point the advice tendered. His was the sole responsibility, as was very clearly set forth to council in a reasoned opinion by the Honourable Mr. Chief Justice Elmsley in May, 1802. Consequently it is to be regretted that such an ambiguous sentence as that on page 159 was written: "In February 1839, a memorial was presented by the bishop, his coadjutor, clergy and people to the government." His excellency was the "government".

The references to the Royal Highland Emigrants (the 84th Regiment), raised by Colonel (or Brigadier-General) Allan McLean, and to the King's Royal Regiment of New York, raised by Major-General Sir John Johnson, Bt., and known also as the Royal Yorkers and as the Royal Greens, are not altogether intelligible from pages 37 and 220. Not all the officers and men belonging to these corps were Roman Catholics; and, for those of them who were not of that communion, there were Scottish Presbyterian chaplains such as Bethune (whose near neighbour in Glengarry the bishop became in 1804), and Anglicans like Doty and Stuart, who closed their careers respectively in Sorel and in Kingston.

Because of the little that has been said by Father Somers about the relations which subsisted between the bishop and Dr. John Strachan one would like to have been given more details. As Scotsmen, to go no further, they were warm personal friends, differing solely on the one point, that of favouring the Church of Rome at the expense of the Church of England.

A. H. YOUNG

The United Empire Loyalists: Founders of British Canada. By A. G.

BRADLEY. London: Thornton Butterworth. 1932. Pp. 280.

THE exacting historian will not be impressed by Mr. Bradley's book for in it are many minor errors and few references to authorities: the meagre list at the end of the book is intended only for the general reader. None the less has the book a real value as an interpretation of the expulsion from the revolted American colonies of the more resolute of those who adhered to George III. Mr. Bradley devotes rather more than a third of the book to the War of 1812-14 with the United States, chiefly a war to drive the British from North America and to realize finally the aim involved in the name of the continental congress. In this war the Loyalists, pursued by their former persecuting neighbours to their new homes, fought with resolve that stemmed the invasion of Canada and made it irrevocably British. Mr. Bradley sees the link between this and the Revolution and emphasis upon it in his lively and readable narrative is one of the chief merits of his book.

His twelve chapters cover first the causes and progress of the Revolutionary War; then the settlement of Loyalists in the newly-settled region of Upper Canada that, for the first time, brought a considerable English-speaking element to what had been New France, and the movement of many thousands of Loyalists chiefly from New England and New York to the older Nova Scotia there to create the separate Loyalist province of New Brunswick.

Mr. Bradley brings to his book the weight of a wide experience. The son of a former dean of Westminster, he has the cosmopolitan outlook of a world centre. In the seventies he was a landowner in Virginia and in its society met members of families of which Loyalist branches had gone to Canada. A friend, Mr. Burwell, of a family that has given its name to more than one place in Canada, let him read his animated correspondence with Thomas Jefferson on agricultural topics. In Boston Mr. Bradley talked much with Francis Parkman and later lived in Canada. Always he had an enquiring mind in regard to history and the present book is only the last of much that he has written on Canada. As his life of Lord Dorchester shows, he has read much manuscript material on the period of the Loyalists. The value of the book is, however, chiefly in his outlook. While fair in tone to the revolted colonies he understands the forces, sometimes sinister, on their side, that grasped at Loyalist property. He has imagination to realize the problems of the families driven from their former homes into the wilderness of Upper Canada and admires their courage in facing hard tasks. His last five chapters on the War of 1812 form a readable narrative of a dreary contest. This war, as he shows, was due less to resentment at British treatment of American ships on the high seas than to the pressure, largely by backwoodsmen in the south and west, to add Canada to their field for exploitation. He has no high opinion of President Madison, who was weak enough to yield to this pressure as against protests in maritime New England that its interests on the sea required not war but peace.

Mr. Bradley notes that enduring bitterness is more usual from the vanquished than from the victor in war and he asks why this rule should

be reversed in the case of the United States in relation to the defeated mother country. If there is now any antagonism to the United States in Great Britain it is certainly not due to the American Revolution. Yet in the victorious country the masses are still likely to regard even the present-day policy of Great Britain as always sinister and they count it still necessary to keep alive the hatreds of a century and a half ago. Of this Mr. Bradley gives illustrations sometimes amusing in their naïveté. The latest is found in the recent desire of a successful candidate for the mayoralty in Chicago to give King George V a physical drubbing should he visit that virtuous city. The answer to Mr. Bradley's puzzle as to the cause of this enduring hostility is probably to be found in the nature of nationalism. A nation feels bound to define itself as different from another, perhaps a rival, nation and such differences tend to breed antagonisms. An illustration is England in relation to France. The first stages of national life in the United States were due to war with Great Britain. Sharp definition of differences at the beginning caused antagonism to kingship and menaces from a monarchical society to be axiomatic in the republic. This spirit has endured because it is found at the beginning of the nation. An older society with other relations in its national life could more readily forget, as Britain has forgotten. Mr. Bradley's book is an interesting addition to Loyalist literature.

GEORGE M. WRONG

A History of the Pacific Northwest. By GEORGE W. FULLER. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1931. Pp. xvi, 399. (\$5.00)

THE term "Pacific Northwest" the author interprets as "the only region added to the union of states by discovery, exploration, and occupation". The portion of the book, therefore, which is of especial interest to Canadian readers is that which sketches the story up to the Treaty of Washington, in 1846, by which Old Oregon was divided between Great Britain and the United States. The claim that the narrative "moves swiftly through a multitude of relatively unfamiliar events" and that it sheds new light on Sacajawea, Madame Dorion, and Jane Barnes is not borne out by the text. In its treatment of this period the volume, in the opinion of this reviewer, leaves much to be desired. Despite the above claims it shows little evidence of independent investigation or examination of source material; it presents as historic facts, for example, Gray's (or the sloop *Washington's*) circumnavigation of Vancouver Island, and Thompson's "race to the sea", both of which have years ago passed into the limbo of departed myths; and, failing to realize the boundaries and the essential unity of Old Oregon, it loses the proper perspective.

Two fine chapters sketching in outline the salient features of the region geologically and ethnologically open the work. Then, after dealing with cases of Japanese junks blown across the Pacific, the author traces the Spaniards' northward movement, the search for the Strait of Anian, and the arrival of Captain Cook. The great circumnavigator is dismissed in eleven lines; but Captain Robert Gray and his discovery of the Columbia River cover four and a half pages. No place is found for the work of the maritime traders whose story from 1785 to 1811 was

the story of the land. The fact that some of them, *e.g.* Barkley, Meares, and Gray are mentioned only serves to distort the more. The distortion is shown by the following figures: to Vancouver and Broughton two pages; to Sir Alexander Mackenzie's first crossing of the main body of the continent, one page; to Simon Fraser, one page; to Lewis and Clark, fourteen pages. Moncacht-apé and his apocryphal voyage receive nearly one page; the mysterious Jeremy Pinch also receives a page. These two people have not yet established their right to have a place in sober history and should, in this reviewer's opinion, have been omitted: their place is at present in journalism, not in history.

In the chapter on "Fur traders—North West Company", David Thompson very properly occupies a prominent place as the founder of the trade in the Columbia region; but a loose woman like Jane Barnes could well have been left out of the picture. The short sketch of voyageurs and brigades is remarkably well done and shows that the author can draw a picture as he would. The Astoria venture is correctly drawn along broad lines, but in its details the author has fallen into numerous errors. For example, he puts forward the startling proposition that the "two circumstances that led to the failure of the enterprise" were employment of Canadians and Astor's unfolding his plans to the North West Company. Apart from its inaccuracy this puts Astor's boasted business acumen on a low plane. No student of the story will agree with our author's view of Captain Thorn; and every writer until now has told us that David Thompson arrived at Astoria in a canoe as all Nor'westers from Canada did.

The chapter on the Hudson's Bay Company is reasonably complete and accurate, giving a good picture of Dr. McLoughlin and his influence; but that on the Oregon question is merely the American side of the discussion and not at all complete even there.

There is an absence of balance, a strong suggestion of haste, and a painful lack of care manifest in the work. The volume contains some thirty-eight illustrations, mostly photographs of historic characters; it is well printed; and has copious notes and an index.

F. W. HOWAY

Rapport de l'archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1930-1931. Par
PIERRE-GEORGES ROY. Québec: Rédempti Paradis. 1931. Pp.
xiii, 508.

THE Province of Quebec continues, through its archivist, M. Roy, to set an example to its neighbours in the production of archive reports. This latest volume, the eleventh report, is issued from the new museum and archive building on the Plains of Abraham, a fitting home for so sumptuous a series. The volume is made up of three parts: (a) pages 1-182, letters to and from Jean Talon, the intendant of New France; (b) pages 183-352, the correspondence of the bishops of Quebec, 1740-1797; (c) pages 353-453, a list of the "hiring contracts" made for men for the western trade between 1746 and 1752.

The last two parts continue the work of the report of 1929-1930. Mgr Briand was succeeded in 1784 by Mgr D'Esgly, his coadjutor, and he, in turn, five years later by Mgr Hubert, who provides the bulk of

the correspondence, edited by M. Caron. It is of great interest as illustrating the multifarious activities of the Quebec episcopate, and also, as the editor points out, for the *petite histoire* of the parishes of the province. There is an interesting letter respecting the appointment of Mgr D'Esgly (p. 186) in which the British government expressed its readiness to "faire toujours grand cas de la recommandation du roi (de France) pour ce qui pourra intéresser la cour de Rome dans l'exercice de la religion en Canada", though it insisted on the choice of a Canadian ecclesiastic (p. 185). M. Massicotte's catalogue of western engagements, which is to be completed next year, has considerable genealogical interest, and might profitably have been preceded by a note summarizing its contents, akin to that prefixed in the earlier report (*Rapport, 1929-1930*, pp. 191-2).

The Talon correspondence here printed includes all the known memoirs and letters written by Talon to the king and to Colbert during his period of office as intendant, with the letters from the king and Colbert to him over the same period, taken from the originals in Paris. So far as we know, all the letters have been used before and some have already been printed (in *Collection de manuscrits . . . relatifs à la Nouvelle France*, Quebec, 1882, and, in translation, in volume IX of the *Documentary history of the State of New York*, Albany, 1850). Senator Chapais also quoted lengthy extracts from them in his life of Talon, usually from the copies in the Dominion Archives, *Correspondance générale, Canada*, volumes II and III. M. Roy has preferred to go direct to the originals, making no reference at all to the copies in the Archives at Ottawa. There is in Ottawa, for example, a letter of M. de Salières of the Carignan regiment to M. Talon (Supp. to *Archives reports*, 1899, ed. Richard, p. 55) which the Quebec archivist does not include, doubtless for good reasons. But it would have been profitable for the reader of M. Roy's volume to know what other letters to Talon exist, in addition to those here printed. That is not meant to be ungrateful for the admirable collection here given. They form a valuable and substantial addition to the original materials available in print for the epic period during which, under Colbert's nursing, the colony of New France began to take shape as an enterprise of size and scope.

The volume contains some admirable reproductions of the MSS. from which the Talon letters were printed.

It would assist the user of these reports if the table of contents were to indicate by a sub-title or by spacing exactly where one part of the report ends and the next begins.

R. FLENLEY

Die Rechtsnatur des britischen Weltreichs. By ARIBERT ELSHOLZ. Charlottenburg: Gebrueder Hoffmann. 1930. Pp. viii, 79.

THIS is a thesis for the LL.D. degree of Halle University. It begins with: "Das britische Weltreich ist das Ergebnis einer mehrhundert-jährigen zielsicheren Politik", a statement that would be perfectly correct if the word "nicht" were inserted between "ist" and "das". The author attempts to define the legal status of the British Empire, a favourite modern theme in Europe for theses, but, valuable as it is for

young doctors *in spe*, to cut their teeth on, hitherto it has proved too big a morsel for them to chew. A glance at Dr. Elsholz's bibliography shows that most of the standard works on this theme—in so far as they are written in English—are conspicuous by their absence, and no book published later than 1927 has been consulted.

It is, to say the least, misleading to write of "Delegierte der Kolonien Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, New Foundland [*sic!*], Prince Edward Island" (p. 24) instead of delegates from Upper Canada, Lower Canada, the Maritime Provinces, *etc.* (in connection with the assembly that met at Quebec, October 10, 1864). The controversy between Lord Byng and Mr. Mackenzie King is discussed in a few lines (p. 53) which conclude with "Das veranlasste die Londoner Regierung Lord Byng von dem Gouverneurposten abzuberufen", whereas when he left Canada his term of office had expired. On page 71, in dealing with the attitude of the dominions in case of war, Herr Elsholz quotes Koellreuter's pronouncement (in the *Archiv des oeffentlichen Rechts*, XIV, 133): "Wenn heute ein Konflikt zwischen den Vereinigten Staaten und England ausbricht, so wird zum mindestens Kanada nicht auf britischer Seite zu finden sein." It would be difficult to find any justification for this statement, and although it is possible to imagine such a situation, historical facts do not point that way. A remark such as this is much on a par with that made before the Great War by so many European writers that, in case of the outbreak of hostilities, the empire would drop to pieces.

The conclusion that our author (and by inference his professors) comes to as to the status of the empire is that it is a "Staatenbund mit Realunion". *Vox et praeterea nihil*.

LOUIS HAMILTON

The New British Empire. By W. Y. ELLIOTT. New York: McGraw Hill Book Company. 1932. Pp. xv, 519. (\$5.00)

THIS is an able book by a professor of government in Harvard. It undertakes a survey of the British Empire as it has emerged since the Great War. The legal, economic, and cultural bonds of the commonwealth are described with genuine insight, and the problems of the dependent empire, political and economic, are acutely set forth. The book is closely packed with pertinent information, but not so closely as to hide the underlying arguments. It is very clearly brought out that the dominions have won an equality of status, but that if the empire is to survive they will require to learn the *duties* as well as the *rights* of equals. It remains to be seen whether they will learn. No less clearly does Professor Elliott show that in the dependent parts of the empire exploitation must increasingly be tempered by a sense of trusteeship, and already this is evident. The author writes with a strong realization that the empire is at present very much on trial, and with it that for which British democracy stands, "social control and rational planning with the flexible play of economic forces and the retention of individual initiative". It is a pleasure to find the empire so understandingly studied by an American scholar.

The book contains no special treatment of Canada, which, like the other dominions, fits into the picture merely as it illustrates salient

economic or political problems, as these might be viewed by a student of the empire as a whole.

A. BRADY

Rose du Canada: Mère Marie-Rose, fondatrice de la Congrégation des Soeurs des Saints Noms de Jésus et de Marie. Par R. P. DUCHAUSSOIS. Montréal: Granger Frères Limitée. 1932. Pp. 352.

Une disciple de la croix: La vénérable Marguerite d'Youville. Par les Soeurs de la Charité de Québec. Québec: Ernest Tremblay. 1932. Pp. xxiii, 169.

To one who is at all familiar with Father Duchaussois's delightful books on pioneering in the Arctic and in the tropics, his latest volume *Rose du Canada* is most welcome. It has not the stern, wild beauty—the silent grandeur of the great north,—that one finds in his *Glaces polaires*, *Femmes héroïques* or *Apôtres inconnus*; nor does one encounter in it the exotic charm of *Sous les feux de Ceylan*; but it does possess that unique appeal with which those who know the story of French-Canadian culture are familiar.

Father Duchaussois is not a Canadian. However, his ability, as a missionary, to adapt himself to conditions in Canada, north and south, in India, in Africa—where he is at present—are evidence of his versatility in matters literary.

Perhaps the chief merit of this volume, apart from its accuracy in questions of fact—and that in itself is vital in such a work—is the attractive manner in which these facts are presented. Father Duchaussois's ability to sustain the reader's interest without departing from the simple truth of what he relates, or describes, places him among the class of writers from whose efforts both history and biography should benefit much.

This seems to be a fitting place to make brief mention of another recent book, also in the French language—*Une disciple de la croix: La vénérable Marguerite d'Youville*. It is a sketch of the life and work of the foundress of the Grey Nuns, whose work in the Arctic was so touchingly described in one of Duchaussois' earlier books *The Grey Nuns in the far north* (Toronto, 1919).

This book, of some one hundred and fifty pages, with its background of life and conditions in Montreal during the dying years of the French régime, though it adds nothing new to what has already appeared in print about Madame d'Youville, nevertheless helps one to forget some of the sordidness and selfishness of the age, by telling us the story of what a noble lady did for the poor and lowly, and what her order has since been able to accomplish for the same class of people.

Brother MEMORIAN

L'Oeuvre des congrégations religieuses de charité dans la province de Québec.

Par ARTHUR SAINT-PIERRE. Montréal: Éditions de la Bibliothèque Canadienne. 1932. Pp. 245.

THIS book of Mr. Saint-Pierre will constitute a welcome addition to the literature on Canadian social welfare. It covers the little-known field of the social work discharged by the religious communities in the Province

of Quebec. In a first part, the author compares the merits of the two systems, institutional care and placing-out of children, and seems to favour the former. He then proceeds to show how the religious communities succeed in fulfilling their social work at a lower cost than civic institutions, thanks to the gratuitous services of their own members and their self-sacrificing mode of life. As to their efficiency, it rests on the permanence of a trained personnel. But it is pointed out that physical education should receive a larger consideration than is generally the case. The author claims that the Quebec system results in great saving to the treasury but that larger grants should be extended to the deserving communities. The second part of the book is devoted to a review of the multifarious activities of the thirty-nine religious communities engaged in the work of such institutions as day-nurseries, orphanages, asylums, hospitals, industrial schools, reformatories, deaf and dumb schools, institutions for the blind, etc., in the Province of Quebec.

GUSTAVE LANCTÔT

The Trail of the King's Men. By MABEL B. DUNHAM. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1931. Pp. 314. (\$2.00)

THE appearance of Miss Mabel Dunham's latest novel, *The trail of the king's men*, warrants a departure from the usual policy of the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW in confining itself to notice of strictly historical and scientific works dealing with Canada. Her story is principally concerned with the varied history and fortunes of the famous Johnson family of the Mohawk Valley and the migration to Canada at the time of the American Revolution. It is a stirring epic of Loyalist adventure, and as such really lies outside the more severe canons of historical criticism. If, therefore, Miss Dunham has somewhat overstated the Loyalist case or understated that of their opposers, the exigencies of a good story well told (and it is both) should be sufficient justification; though to imply, as on page 211, that even Loyalist "horses, cattle and fowl vied with each other in shrieks of unavailing protest" at American outrages is a straining for effect which perhaps is not quite what the author intended.

The author's main problem was, however, not so much the nice balancing of one fact against another, but the presentation of an authentic narrative giving the experiences and point of view of a notable Loyalist family. In this she has been extraordinarily successful. It is, therefore, no reflection on her novel to say that it does not stress the American Revolution as a great civil war, and that it gives in the concluding chapters a one-sided picture of the peace treaty which was disadvantageous to the Loyalists in respect to many of their claims. But while some may be inclined to regard the treaty as greatly to the advantage of the United States and as having been obtained by three remarkably astute Americans, Franklin, Adams, and Jay, at the expense of the complaisant Oswald and the second-rate Strachey, this was not the view of the American representatives themselves who adopted an apologetic attitude to congress, clearly showing that they had not secured as much as they had expected and had made concessions for which some explanation would be demanded. It is small wonder that neither side was satisfied.

Miss Dunham is to be congratulated upon her latest venture in the

field of the historical novel, as a result of which many doubtless will not only be entertained and instructed, but some may even be inspired to explore further and to interpret for themselves the records from which the author has so admirably constructed her stirring story of Loyalist struggle and heroism.

A. G. DORLAND

The Papers of Sir William Johnson. Prepared for publication by the Division of Archives and History, ALEXANDER C. FLICK, director and state historian; volume VII. Albany: The University of the State of New York. 1931. Pp. xiii, 1160.

This volume of the *Johnson papers* covers the period from June, 1769 to February, 1771, when Sir William was virtually at the height of his power. His interests were so comprehensive during these years that letters from a great variety of personages are to be found: from British statesmen and military men, such as Hillsborough and Gage; from officials in other colonies, Benjamin Franklin and Lieutenant-Governor John Penn of Pennsylvania, Governor Campbell of Nova Scotia, and Guy Carleton of Canada; from New York politicians, Moore, Delancey, Rivington, and Colden; and from fur traders and Indian agents, Jelles Fonda, Daniel Claus, Alexander McKee, Peter Hasenclever, and Thomas Wharton. A corresponding range of subjects is covered, from imperial control and military affairs to matters of provincial politics, and Indian relations, including such questions as land grants, boundaries, licenses, local and western trade, and Indian conferences.

Many of the documents printed in this, as in the earlier volumes, were damaged by the Albany fire of 1911, and important sections of some of them were lost. But the diligence of the editors in searching out the originals or copies in other depositories has largely offset this unavoidable deficiency.

The chief criticism which might be offered of this edition of the *Johnson papers* is that as yet there is no index. In a work extending over several thousand pages and covering a multiplicity of subjects, this is a defect which robs the publication of much of its utility. It is earnestly hoped that when all the *Papers* are printed an index will be compiled, which will make accessible the vast and widely divergent mass of material contained therein.

Mr. Richard E. Day who has done so much in the publication of the *Johnson papers* has retired, and his work has been taken over during the preparation of the present volume by Mr. A. W. Lauber.

R. O. MACFARLANE

Études économiques: Thèses présentées à la "Licence en Sciences Commerciales" en mai, 1931. (Publications de l'École des Hautes Études Commerciales de Montréal.) Préface de HENRY LAUREYS. Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin. 1931. Pp. 259.

As stated by Mr. Henry Laureys in the preface, this is the first in a series of volumes to be published annually by the Montreal School for Higher Commercial Studies under the general title *Études économiques*.

It consists of six theses prepared by students seeking the degree in commerce. Four of the theses deal with questions of Canadian economic and historical interest. The paper dealing with the crisis in the Canadian wheat trade analyses the reasons for the collapse of prices in 1929, and attempts to estimate the future of the trade in the light of the probable markets which will be available to Canadian wheat and the competition which will be offered by other wheat-exporting countries. The writer finds the best prospect for improvement in a lowering of Canadian costs of production, although no account is taken of the fact that other countries may do the same. Governmental assistance to the wheat-grower is deprecated. The wheat pool is criticized on familiar grounds. Without holding any brief for the policy of the pool, one feels that similar criticisms might have been levelled with equal justice at the private grain trade. The paper on the policy of the League of Nations is a sympathetic historical treatment of the league's efforts to combat the great increases in tariffs since the War. That on market-gardening in Quebec offers a criticism of the failure of the producers themselves to adopt methods of production and marketing which will enable them to take advantage of their opportunities and to meet the recent serious competition from the United States. The paper of chief historical interest deals with the changes in Canadian fiscal policy during the period of the Union. Special attention is given to the effects of changing fiscal policies in the United States and England. The essay while re-stating rather positively certain points of view that have long been subject to debate, draws on a wide variety of source material and is well written.

While the book as a whole brings out little that is new, it gives evidence of serious thinking and steady industry. A bibliography is appended to each paper.

W. M. DRUMMOND

Depression and the Way Out. By W. W. SWANSON. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1931. Pp. vii, 181. (\$2.00)

HERE we have Canada's problem studied in relation to wheat, to transportation, and to currency. Chapters VI-VIII and X-XII dealing specifically with these are by long odds the best and should be widely read. The author's well-considered ideas on wheat especially, vigorously set forth, and at odds with so much that we have read, should command attention. He is opposed to arbitrary attempts to control the production of wheat. The complexities of the relation of demand and supply are too baffling; natural forces, including heat, moisture, etc., too overwhelmingly important. Moreover, there has never been too much wheat. The break in prices of recent years has been due to world-wide economic conditions. Wheat is a victim, rather than a cause, of depression.

The book is controversial in style and conservative in outlook, competitive society being repeatedly defended and all radical changes in social organization denounced. The way out of the depression *viâ* a "return to thrift and industry" and a philosophical acceptance for the present of a lower standard of living may commend itself to some. Others will fail to agree that the present economic dilapidation is chiefly due to a lack of individual industry and will ask why it is necessary to

accept a radical decline in standards of living in an era of unprecedented productive capacity. Generally speaking the title is a misnomer: there is no adequate analysis of the depression and few definite suggestions as to remedy.

H. A. LOGAN

A History of the English Corn Laws from 1660 to 1846. By DONALD GROVE BARNES. London: George Routledge. 1930. Pp. xv, 331. (15s.)

PROFESSOR Barnes has a great subject, out-rivalling in quantity of material even the navigation laws. For in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the writers and speakers of Britain were landed persons and clergy, who had an intimate material interest in corn law policy. It affected their rents and their titles. The pamphlet literature is enormous: it breaks out, like measles, when a change of law is imminent. It was at its height in 1814-5. "Tracts" they are usually called, when bound into volumes: among them the most famous are C. Smith, *Tracts on the corn laws and corn trade* (second, and first full, edition, 1766); E. West, *Essay on the application of capital to land* (1815); D. Ricardo, *On protection to agriculture* (1822). Mr. Barnes's bibliography is by years: if the year were indicated on the margin and the author's names italicised, its perusal would be easier. May we protest here, as always, against the intolerable practice of packing away the hundreds of footnotes at the end of each chapter, and referring to them by figures so small that they cannot be deciphered except under a strong light? The most important note is on page 46:

Townshend Papers: Letter of December 18th, 1751: These papers . . . are some miscellaneous letters, papers and memoranda belonging to different members of the Townshend family. I was permitted to use them through the courtesy of Mr. Kashnor of the Museum Book Store, London, in whose possession they were in 1921.

Mr. Barnes would do us a service, if he would send, say, to the *Economic history review* (England) a memorandum, enlarging this note and giving some information about the subsequent history of the papers.

The author on the domestic side says pretty well all there is to say; and he is especially strong on the detail of corn law averages, bounties, debentures, the Rusby engrossing trial, and so forth. He is less successful when he summarises the opinions of modern writers on enclosures, in order to relate this problem to the corn laws; and he is not very discriminating in his references to general political events.

From a Canadian standpoint, however, there is a regrettable omission, all the more surprising in that the author is an overseas student. He omits Canada and the Canada Corn Bill (Canada is not even indexed), as well as the whole long and important story of imperial preference. Canada played an important part in the last days of the corn laws; and the repercussions of repeal on Canadian economic welfare were profound. Happily, however, this has been adequately treated by Mr. D. L. Burn in "Canada and the repeal of the corn laws" (*Cambridge historical journal*, II (3), 1928, 252-272); and by the late Adam Shortt in the *Cambridge history of the British Empire*, volume VI, *Canada and Newfoundland* (Cambridge, 1930), chapter 15.

C. R. FAY

Frankreichs Rote Kinder. By FRIEDERICH SIEBURG. Frankfort-on-the-Main: Societaets Verlag. 1931. Pp. 91. Illustrations. (M.3.50) This is a charming little book. Its title is somewhat misleading, as it suggests something to do with socialism or communism. But the "Red children of France" do not (or rather, did not) wear the Phrygian cap, but feathers, for they are the Indians of New France.

The author, if we mistake not, is the correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* in Paris. He notices that there and elsewhere on the continent so many cars bear Indian or French names such as Pontiac, Cadillac, and so forth. The origin of these names is familiar to all in Canada, but they convey next to nothing to Germans, and not much to Frenchmen. The author tells his readers something about the life of the Indians and French in Canada, especially before the conquest, and writes in a pleasant vein of mixed melancholy, sarcasm, and indignation, as for instance: "Wir duerfen sicher sein, dass La Salles Feuergeist den Mississippi gerne wieder in die Namenlosigkeit, aus der ihn entriss, versenkt haette, waere ihm bekannt gewesen, zu welcher Entwicklung seine Tat den Anfang bildete" (p. 11). His sources are, *inter alia*, Shea's *Discovery and exploration of the Mississippi Valley* and Parkman's works. To those unfamiliar with the French régime in Canada such books reveal a new and undreamt-of world, and the author expresses his surprise that the French who do so much to keep the past alive seem to have "dumped Canada and Louisiana in the lumber-room of history" (p. 16). It certainly is true that there are comparatively few French works written by Frenchmen and published in France dealing with the French colonial period in Canada. This Herr Sieburg ascribes partly to a desire to forget a defeat, and partly to what he interprets somewhat vaguely as the "Uebermass von Naturverbundenheit" for which the valleys of the St. Lawrence and Mississippi stood. The French have not the imagination of those old days; they have, as it were, sold their estates and retired into the castle. What our author writes he writes so poetically and charmingly that we can forgive him such little inaccuracies as the Jesuit missionaries sharing a corn-cob pipe with the redskins, or calling an Indian canoe an "Einbaum" (p. 23), nor will the majority of his readers notice if he tells them on page 28 that in 1689 "1000 Franzosen unter den Streitaexten . . . der fuenf Nationen verbluteten" in Montreal. What he means is the massacre at Lachine on August 5, 1689, when fifty to sixty Frenchmen lost their lives. Herr Sieburg is refreshingly objective when dealing with the French, and concludes the final chapter bearing the romantic title "Der Bison verschwindet im Abend" with "Auf erblassender Lippe trug er"—the Indian—"die Verwunschung gegen alle weissen Nationen—doch nicht gegen die Franzosen."

LOUIS HAMILTON

CORRESPONDENCE

Whether the two articles in the last issue of the *REVIEW* on the exploit of Dollard at the Long Sault settled points of uncertainty with regard to the well-known story must be left to the individual reader to determine for himself. At any rate, they amply illustrated the difficulty confronted by the historian in dealing with even a limited number of inadequate or conflicting sources. Since June we have received letters from both Mr. Lanctôt and Mr. Adair which appear below, and which bring the discussion to a close.

Space does not allow challenging all the charges made by Mr. Adair against Dollard, but some at least must be repudiated here. First, he twice states that Dollard had to "redeem his reputation", and so conveys the impression that he was a man with a past. Well, the only relevant text is the following sentence of Dollier de Casson: "He may have been very glad of an opportunity to distinguish himself, to be of use to him on account of something which was said to have happened to him in France."¹ Any unbiased man could not construe these lines into something dishonourable. The French text makes it very clear. It says: "Quelque affaire qu'on disait lui être arrivé en France." "Affaire" here means "matter" and conveys when used alone no unpleasant sense, as shown by the expression "une affaire d'honneur", a matter of honour. Consequently it is totally unfair to make out of it a stain on Dollard's reputation. His "affaire" might have been, for instance, a difficulty about a contemplated marriage or disagreement with his father about his career. When one does not know what it is, why construe it unfavourably? Such a construction appears still more unfounded, when the austere character of Maisonneuve is remembered. He was not a man to accept a tainted fellow on his staff, when even the mere colonists were all hand-picked men; still less was he to give him the command of the garrison of the monastery-town that was Ville-Marie. Next, Mr. Adair writes that "the disaster that overtook them was very largely the result of Dollard's own selfish haste." It is not so. For supposing that Dollard had waited for them, the presence of a few additional Frenchmen would not have changed the result. Besides there was a good reason for haste, the risk of missing the incoming Iroquois. As a matter of fact, had Dollard started a week later, he would have been too late. Now as to the possible desire of Dollard not to wait for Le Moyne or Bellestre, for fear "he would lose the honour of being in command",² there is nothing there to be reproached with. Since he had originated the idea and indebted himself to get supplies for the party, he was certainly

¹Dollier de Casson, *A history of Montreal*, 255.

²*Ibid.*, 255.

entitled to the honour of leading it. If there is selfishness in a wish to be the leader facing death for one's country, such selfishness comes very near being a virtue. Finally, Mr. Adair says: "Dollier also adds that Lambert Closse, Charles Le Moyne and Picoté de Bellestre all *disapproved* of Dollard's proposals." It is not so. For Dollier simply states, that Closse "was very anxious to increase the detachment and M. Le Moyne and M. de Belêtre had strongly urged the same thing, but they wanted the enterprise to be deferred until after the seeding."¹ It is evident from this text that they did not disapprove but approved of the party, since they wanted to join it. Their only difference was that they wanted to postpone its time of departure. (Gustave Lanctôt).

I have no desire to fill your review with a controversy about Dollard des Ormeaux, but as Mr. Lanctôt had the opportunity of reading and replying to my article before it appeared in print, may I ask you for the customary privilege of answering some of his criticisms of the views that I had expressed.

(a) Mr. Lanctôt says of the list I gave of the contemporary sources for the story of Dollard des Ormeaux: "Unconcernedly he leaves out four other important sources and they happen not to support his theory" (p. 140). Of these four so-called important contemporary sources, one, the *Écrits autographes de la Soeur Bourgeoys*, is not contemporary at all, as Mr. Lanctôt himself admits on page 141, and another, the Jesuits' journal, contains only one detail in this connection that is not in the far more important *Relations* with which it is printed, and this I mention (p. 128, note 2). Of the other two, the *Voyages* of Radisson was written some years later when his memory was so inaccurate that he gets the dates of his own travels very badly mixed and puts the Dollard episode at the end of the fourth voyage when it must have come at the end of the third; while Argenson's *Lettres*, contain no additional details on the subject of Dollard, though they have much interesting information on the general background of this period of Indian warfare and, as Mr. Lanctôt rather grudgingly points out in a footnote, I have used them for this purpose. Finally from these four sources he fails to print any evidence whatsoever which refutes the details of Dollard's expedition as I have set them forth.

(b) Mr. Lanctôt asserts that on the question of Dollard's purpose in setting out on his expedition "Mr. Adair's view is sound but the conclusion had already been established. There is nothing new in it"² (p. 141). So little had it been established that, with the exception of Mr. Lanctôt himself, no French-Canadian historian has ever questioned Dollard's motives, and Mr. Lanctôt qualified his criticism with a patriotic reservation. The Abbé Groulx in his pamphlet issued as recently as May, 1932, accepts in full the traditional view that Dollard and his band set out with the intention of sacrificing themselves to save French Canada.

Finally Mr. Lanctôt is unfair to Kingsford whose criticism of Dollard's

¹*Ibid.*, 253-5.

²CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, December, 1920, 394.

motives was not "based on unsupported reasoning" as Mr. Lanctôt suggests (p. 139, note 7), but on a careful examination of Dollier de Casson and the letters of Marie de l'Incarnation. Also Mr. Lanctôt's quotation from Kingsford alters his meaning completely by omitting the concluding clause; what he wrote was: "There is no authority for the connected and detailed narrative of their expedition, made to present the page of romance which we are asked to accept." This is, therefore, not a criticism of the sources, as Mr. Lanctôt would lead the reader to believe, but of Parkman and Faillon, and consequently is not, as Mr. Lanctôt states, an untenable assertion that destroyed the value of Kingsford's views.

(c) Mr. Lanctôt holds that Dollard saved New France (1) from massacre; (2) from starvation. In this connection he charges me with ignoring contemporary opinion, but what he seems to fail to realize is that the value of contemporary evidence is definitely limited. It is vital as to the facts of a case, it may be entirely worthless as to their real results. Contemporaries are often too close to an event, too swayed by emotion or prejudice or patriotism to judge fairly of a man's achievements. The two historical parallels which Mr. Lanctôt quotes are singularly unfortunate for his argument, for older estimates of Joan of Arc's personal leadership have been much criticised by modern historical scholars, and there were many reputations made in the last Great War—even some Canadian ones—that have not stood the test of the passage of time. Moreover, men in a seventeenth-century wilderness were far less capable of making such contemporary judgments than we are to-day, for communications were slow and knowledge terribly inadequate. Therefore, it is the business of the modern historian to use the evidence of contemporaries to establish the facts, and then from those facts, himself to estimate the real importance of the events he is describing; contemporary opinion may be consulted, but it should occupy a place of secondary importance. Consequently I am entirely unrepentant for having refused to swallow, without some measure of criticism, the judgment as to the merits of Dollard's achievement expressed by contemporaries, or even that arrived at by Faillon or Parkman or Sulte.

And were contemporaries as unanimous as Mr. Lanctôt would suggest, in thinking that Dollard saved the whole colony? One quotation from Argenson that he does not give, although it also was printed sixty years ago by Faillon, says: "L'armée des Iroquois . . . était de sept cents hommes et s'est contentée de la défaite de dix-sept Français (et de celle de quelques sauvages), et par là, a été détournée d'enlever et brûler plusieurs habitations, tellement écartées les unes des autres qu'elles ne doivent pas attendre de secours."¹ Preventing the Iroquois from burning a few farms cannot make Dollard the saviour of New France.

But Mr. Lanctôt goes further and supports the view that Dollard's resistance forced the Iroquois to retire cowed and disheartened to their homes. He quotes Dollier and Belmont to this effect and writes: "There is no historical evidence to show that the enemy was not impressed by the Frenchmen's stubborn resistance" (p. 144). On the contrary, there is plenty of contemporary evidence. Marie de l'Incarnation speaks of

¹Quoted in Faillon, *Histoire de la colonie française*, I, 425.

the Iroquois going home "enflés de leur victoire";¹ Argenson and the *Jesuit Relation* again and again speak of the Iroquois victory and that they retired to enjoy the torture of their captives at leisure, a habit of theirs which is well known to every student of Indian warfare. Against all this Dollier and his plagiarist Belmont are of relatively little importance.

But to balance this contemporary opinion Mr. Lanctôt would set the fact that "after promising to return they [the Iroquois] did not show their hideous faces for eight months" (p. 144); and this he argues was solely the result of Dollard's sacrifice. The sources, however, give two other adequate reasons for this brief period of peace. So little abashed were the Iroquois by Dollard's resistance that as early as June, 1660, they were planning a fresh raid for the autumn,² and six hundred of them actually set out.³ Meanwhile Argenson and Maisonneuve had detained in prison a small body of Iroquois who had come under the guise of envoys, but, as the French believed, were really spies. This was done, as the *Jesuit Relation* specifically states, that they might be used as hostages to delay the expected Iroquois attack until after the harvest. The plan was quite successful; the Iroquois army determined to negotiate in order to get the prisoners released before they launched their attack. But the attack was never made, for their chieftain was accidentally killed and the Iroquois retired.⁴ In 1661, however, as Marie de l'Incarnation writes: "Ils ont encore fait pis cette année que toutes les précédentes."⁵ In the light of these facts we cannot accept the traditional view that the brief respite of the colony was due to Dollard's exploit. Incidentally the above evidence also goes far to dispose of the claim that "Dollard's expedition saved New France from starvation" (p. 143), since the non-return of the Iroquois in the autumn and the consequent security for the harvest was the result not of Dollard's disaster but of the tactics of Argenson and Maisonneuve combined with a fortunate accident.

(d) On the whole Mr. Lanctôt appears to accept my new version of the progress of the expedition and the thoroughly revised chronology with which I have provided it; on only three points is he critical, but they are of some importance. In the first place, he objects to my criticism of the policy of Dollard's expedition and to my saying that he was ignorant of the essentials of Indian warfare. As to policy, this must obviously be a matter of opinion, but Mr. Lanctôt is on very dubious ground, for he admits that Dollard's policy was definitely opposed to that followed by Maisonneuve with so much success, and I prefer Maisonneuve's judgment to that of Dollard. My criticism of Dollard's capacity as a leader in Indian warfare seems to me a fair deduction from the remarks of Mr. Lanctôt's favourite source, Dollier de Casson: Dollard and his men could not manage canoes, he postponed obvious measures of defence though in imminent danger of attack, he allowed himself to be surprised with no excuse whatsoever, he failed to follow up his second repulse of the dis-

¹Sulte, *Lettres . . . de . . . Marie de l'Incarnation*, 116.

²Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, XLVI, 121.

³Sulte, *Lettres . . . de . . . Marie de l'Incarnation*, 126.

⁴*Ibid.*, 126-7; Jesuit Journal, August 4, 1660 (printed in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, XLV, 161); Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, XLVI, 118-123.

⁵Sulte, *Lettres . . . de . . . Marie de l'Incarnation*, 129, September, 1661.

couraged Iroquois, and he failed to hold his Indian allies; a pretty serious indictment; enough, I think to justify my criticism.

Secondly, Mr. Lanctôt objects to my statement that the odds against Dollard have been greatly exaggerated; he adds: "Mr. Adair himself indicates that there were seven hundred Iroquois against seventeen Frenchmen, one Huron, and four Algonquins" (p. 145). On the contrary, I am at some pains to point out that for seven days seventeen Frenchmen and forty-four Indians were opposed to two hundred Iroquois—odds at the most of only a little over three to one. The arrival of five hundred fresh Iroquois led to the desertion of twenty-four Hurons leaving, as I say quite clearly, seventeen Frenchmen, fourteen Hurons,¹ and four Algonquins" (p. 134). In the face of these increased odds, the first attack the Iroquois made brought about the complete destruction of the defenders of the fort. The contemporary evidence does not support any of the figures in Mr. Lanctôt's statement that "with twenty-two men he resisted seven hundred adversaries for seven days and killed one-third of them" (p. 146).

Thirdly Mr. Lanctôt asserts that defeat came, not as I suggest, as a result of Dollard's selfish haste and headstrong folly, "but owing to the desertion of the forty Hurons" (p. 146). I based my judgment on the simple fact that Dollard and his men ought not to have been where they were at all, and being there, should have used the time at their disposal to take some adequate measures of defence. The desertion of the forty Hurons cannot have affected the final result: the defenders of the fort were doomed as soon as the Iroquois reinforcements arrived. As to the numbers of deserters, Argenson and the *Jesuit Relation* say about thirty;² Marie de l'Incarnation is more specific and says twenty-four,³ and these are the only contemporary sources to mention the number at all; Dollier de Casson's later estimate must be discounted in view of this strictly contemporary evidence. Mr. Lanctôt explains the supposed error of contemporaries by saying that "the escaped Hurons in order to conceal their own desertion said that only part of their brethren deserted to the enemy" (p. 146, n. 1). As every atom of information we possess comes from these Huron deserters there is no authority for saying that the Hurons were lying in regard to these numbers. Mr. Lanctôt is merely following Faillon's rather ungenerous hypothesis. To sum up, if Dollard is to be called the saviour of New France, when he went out with no intention of saving, when he fought because he was surprised and could not escape, when his death did not prevent further attack in the autumn and encouraged the Iroquois to more vigorous efforts in the following year, it can be done, but such is not my idea of a saviour. If he must be labelled, why not "l'héros malgré lui"?

One point of general significance may be mentioned in conclusion: the treatment accorded by historians to the American Indian. It is not too much to say that he has never had a square deal. Grossly deceived and ill-treated by the colonists of New England, urged by French mission-

¹This, with the two envoys who had been sent into the Iroquois camp, would complete the tale of the forty Hurons.

²Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, XLV, 253.

³Sulte, *Lettres . . . de . . . Marie de l'Incarnation*, 111.

aries to adopt a religion in which he was not interested, ousted by force, chicanery, and the inevitable advance of English settlement from the lands which he considered with some show of justice as rightfully his, it is little wonder if he developed a bitter hostility to the white men, wherever he found them, a hostility which was not diminished as he gradually awakened to the fact that in such commercial dealings as he had with them, he was only too often the victim of trickery and fraud. And, even though the treatment he received at the hands of the French was far better than the English accorded him, he probably made little distinction in his hatred. A temperamental rather than a good fighter, poorly armed and usually a bad shot, relying on guile and surprise, rarely attacking where much resistance was to be expected and with a morale which did not withstand severe losses, the Indian was no doubt a danger, but nothing like so great a danger as his enemies have been fond of representing him. He was, indeed, not unlike the snake to whom he has been rather unkindly compared—only too anxious to be let alone, but when disturbed, striking with a swift, secret blow and then fading into the impenetrable background.

But the colonists, English and French alike, were appalled by the new conditions amidst which they had to live, their imaginations saw hostility in every Indian and an Indian behind every tree, and this combined with vanity to make them exaggerate greatly the numbers of their enemies and the danger in which they lay. Their romantic successors have still further embroidered the tale. If an Englishman or a Frenchman ever fell, it was always as the result of treachery or before insuperable odds, and when friendly Indians fought on the side of the whites, they are denied a decent share in the ensuing glory. Almost the only fair word said for the Indians was uttered by those devoted French missionaries who lived, and only too often died, in their midst: they at least recognized, as Father Trouvé says, "*que les sauvages tous barbares qu'ils soient . . . ne commettent point tant de péchés que la plupart des Chrétiens.*" To paraphrase the famous Confederate colonel, what we want is a really impartial history of North America written from the Indians' point of view.

E. R. ADAIR

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The International Committee of Historical Sciences, which is the interim committee of the quinquennial Congress of Historical Sciences, met this year at The Hague, from July 4 to 7. The progress of the work of its several commissions, and plans for the congress at Warsaw in 1933, will be duly reported in the *Bulletin*. A development, however, which demands mention in this REVIEW because of its special interest to workers in Canadian history, is the recognition accorded by the International Committee to colonial history as a distinct field of scholarship. As recently as last September there met at Paris the first International Congress of Colonial History of which Marshal Lyautey was the honorary president, M. Alfred Martineau, late governor-general of the French Indies, the president, and Professor A. P. Newton the vice-president. At that meeting it was held desirable that there should be a permanent body for the organization of colonial history, and plans were laid for preparing a bibliography of works published since 1900 in any country, relating to colonial history prior to the close of the nineteenth century. Already the bibliography then planned is completed and is off the press (*Premier Congrès international d'histoire coloniale, Paris, 1931. Bibliographie d'histoire coloniale, 1900-1930. Publiée par les soins de MM. Alfred Martineau, professeur au Collège de France, Roussier, archiviste du ministère des colonies, Tramond, professeur à l'École de Guerre Navale, délégués par le Congrès. Paris: Société de l'histoire des colonies françaises. 1932*). This volume is not only a bibliography but also an account of the work which has been done and of the equipment existing for the study of colonial history in each country.

Application to the International Committee resulted in recognition of the new colonial history organization as one of its external commissions, autonomous but federally attached to the committee. The new commission organized itself as such at The Hague, electing M. Martineau as president, Professor Newton as vice-president, and M. Roussier as secretary. It proposes to operate as a commission of countries, with national committees on colonial history in each country concerned. At two fruitful sessions at The Hague the commission delimited the scope of colonial history and laid plans for establishing the bibliography of the subject on a permanent basis with quinquennial supplements. (R. G. Trotter)

A handsome, fire-proof building for the New Brunswick museum has just been erected in Saint John mainly through contributions from the province, the city of Saint John, and private individuals. The dominion government also allowed a sum to be used in connection with the relief of unemployment. The opening of the museum will commemorate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the province, as a distinct government. Though the official opening awaits the coming of 1934, the museum will be at the service of the public in the near future. There is a rich collection of exhibits to be displayed, most of which have

been for years under the care of the Natural History Society. These relate to the following periods, *viz.*, Eskimo, Indian, French, and British colonial. The marine, military, and natural history of the province is richly represented, and there is a fine collection of books and historical documents. The museum is continually receiving gifts, which are duly acknowledged in the press. The recent donation by Dr. J. Clarence Webster, of Shediac, N.B., of his extensive pictorial collection of Canada, adds to the importance of the museum, and gives it rank as second in importance to the Public Archives of Ottawa. The educational work of the natural history museum, so ably conducted by Dr. William Mac-Intosh, director of the new museum, has benefited all parts of the province, and will be continued on a larger scale. The museum has the goodwill of the people of the province, and their support in the future is assured.

The following interesting comment appeared in a review (*History*, January, 1932) of the well-known books on the causes of the Great War by Professors S. B. Fay and B. E. Schmitt:

"It has happened before, but there can seldom have been a clearer case, and it must be a little disturbing to a too ingenuous faith in history. Here we have two mature historians, the American Professors S. B. Fay and B. E. Schmitt, of approximately the same rank and standing and of the same nationality. They have each devoted many years of labour to a quite limited subject, as history goes, the causes and outbreak of the World War. They both confine themselves very largely to the strictly diplomatic side. On that side this is probably the best documented episode in history—does not Schmitt number the tale of relevant documents at over 35,000?—not to speak of the array of published autobiographies and diaries, and the interviews and questionnaires by which these authors have secured special information from the many surviving protagonists. They have written on an approximately similar scale, and it is a scale generous enough to discount the distortion which comes from over-compression. Publication was better than simultaneous, since Schmitt read Fay's proofs and had his first edition before him as he finished his own work, while Fay had most of Schmitt's proof-sheets when he prepared his revised edition. Despite the unique opportunity Schmitt has quarrelled directly with relatively very few of Fay's statements, and Fay (in his second edition) with few of Schmitt's. Yet the general impression on war-responsibility which would be gathered from the two books varies at least as widely as if one had consulted an average German and an average French treatise."

Frederick Jackson Turner, professor of history emeritus of Harvard University, died on March 15, 1932, at his home in Pasadena, California. His emphasis on the importance of the frontier was the greatest single influence in the re-interpretation of the history of the United States during the past generation. The application of his views to Canadian history has scarcely begun but it is safe to say that they will have a profound effect—perhaps not less in emphasizing the differences than the similarities in the development of the two countries.

The REVIEW notes with interest the change of policy which has been announced by the editors of the *Progress of medieval studies in the United States of America* whereby the scope of the publication is extended to include Canadian medievalists. The new name of the bulletin will probably be *Progress of medieval studies in the United States and Canada*.

The interesting paper in this issue on the Newfoundland fishery was contributed by Mr. Dallas D. Irvine of the department of history in the University of Pennsylvania. Miss Isabel Bescoby who has edited the journal of S. G. Hathaway is an honour student at the University of British Columbia. Mr. W. S. Wallace, the librarian of the University of Toronto, has contributed the article on "Namesakes in the fur-trade". We are indebted to Professor W. P. M. Kennedy, head of the department of law in the University of Toronto, for his review of the recent literature on British constitutional law.

CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Canadian Geographical Society. Under the auspices of the society, Mr. Richard Finnie, of the department of the interior, exhibited his motion pictures of the western Canadian Arctic, in Ottawa on March 14, 1932. These pictures are a record of thirteen months in the Arctic and they present a unique picture of the life of the Coppermine Eskimo.

The Lincoln Historical Society has published a short descriptive booklet, *A pilgrimage through the historic Niagara district*, compiled by Mrs. James Brighty, which points out the historical spots in the vicinity and includes a list of place names and a map.

Ontario Historical Society. The annual meeting of the society was held on June 22-24, 1932, at the parish hall of St. George's Church, St. Catharines. The first evening was devoted to addresses of welcome, the presidential address by Professor A. H. Young, and papers on "Early Mohawk history" by Mrs. H. A. Brant, of the Indian reserve near Desoronto, a descendent of Joseph Brant, and "Etienne Brûlé, the explorer" by Mr. J. W. Curran, editor of the *Sault Daily star*, who was unable to be present. On the following morning several papers dealing with the Niagara peninsula and a report by Professor Fred Landon on the work of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, in Ontario, were read. In the afternoon the members joined in the unveiling of a cairn, erected by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board at Fort Drummond, Queenston Heights, and also visited Palatine Hill, the old Servos house. Two papers were read in the evening: "Contributions by heroines to the early history of the Niagara peninsula" by Mrs. James Brighty and "The Toronto carrying place" by Mr. Percy J. Robinson of St. Andrew's College, Aurora. Further papers were read on Friday morning and the closing meeting was held on Friday afternoon at "Cooneen Cross" the home of Mr. Louis Blake Duff, at St. John's, where Mr. Duff read a paper on "The early history of St. John's".

The sessions were well attended and the members of the Lincoln Historical Society who were in charge of the local arrangements con-

tributed greatly to the success of the meeting. The officers of 1931-2 were returned for the ensuing year. (J. J. Talman)

The Royal Society of Canada, in commemoration of its fiftieth anniversary, has published a volume of papers entitled *Fifty years retrospect*, which constitutes a series of surveys of progress in Canada, in the various subjects covered by the five sections of the Royal Society, during its lifetime.

Société Historique Métisse. Secretary, M. Guillaume Charette, St. Boniface, Man.

United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada. The August number of the *Loyalist gazette* contains articles on "The Loyalists settlement of Adolphustown", "The loyal provincial regiments: Notes on their uniforms", and "The Loyalist settlements west of the River St. John". At the Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto the Association had an exhibit of portraits, documents, books, weapons, and objects of historic interest relating to the United Empire Loyalists. At the Hamilton Exhibition, May 30 to June 4, the Hamilton branch of the association had on display pioneer furniture, dishes, spinning wheels, plows, etc. A branch of the association is at present being organized at Vancouver.

Welland County Historical Society. President, George H. Smith, Port Colborne, Ontario; secretary, Louis Blake Duff, Welland, Ont.

The Wellington County Historical Society was organized at Guelph in May, 1932. Secretary, Dr. A. E. Byerly, Guelph, Ont.

The Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa, in connection with the loan exhibition held by the society (to which we referred in the June number of the REVIEW) has published a catalogue which contains a foreword on the history and aims of the society and a brief article on Colonel By and the construction of the Rideau Canal. During the last year the society held eleven executive and five general meetings and a few of the interesting papers which were read were: "Some of the pioneer families of the Long Sault", "Highways of the past and present", "Some broader aspects of the Rebellion of 1837", "Early Indian life in the Ottawa valley", and "Pioneers in March Township". An interesting activity of the society is the keeping of a scrap-book of historical events in the dominion and in the city.

Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto. Corresponding secretary, Mrs. F. M. Fairbrother, 98 College View Heights, Toronto.

The York and Sunbury Historical Society has recently been founded in New Brunswick. Corresponding secretary, R. P. Gorham, Fredericton, N.B.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this section does not preclude a later and more extended review.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

- Australia II. Imperial preference* (Round table, no. 87, June, 1932, pp. 642-649). A discussion from an Australian point of view of the problems and difficulties of a policy of imperial preference.
- BARNJUM, FRANK J. D. *The importance of a forest policy for the empire* (United Empire, XXIII (6), June, 1932, pp. 313-315). The problem of the conservation of the forest resources of the empire is briefly discussed.
- BREBNER, J. BARTLETT. *British imperial issues at Ottawa* (Current history, July, 1932, pp. 423-428). A clear exposition of some of the difficult special interests which prove barriers to British imperial unity.
- BURCHELL, CHARLES J. *Uniformity of merchant shipping legislation and admiralty jurisdiction throughout the British Empire* (Canadian bar review, X (3), March, 1932, pp. 179-181). The need is stressed for uniformity of legislation with respect to shipping and admiralty courts throughout the empire.
- CAMSELL, CHARLES. *The mineral position of the British Empire* (Canadian defence quarterly, IX (3), April, 1932, pp. 330-342). A survey of the mineral resources of the empire, including Canada.
- COATMAN, J. *Ottawa will not fail* (Fortnightly review, 787 n.s., July, 1932, pp. 1-16). A discussion of the importance of the Ottawa Conference and of the empire's necessity for an economic foundation.
- DAVSON, SIR EDWARD. *The Ottawa Conference* (United Empire, XXIII (5), May, 1932, pp. 255-261). A discussion of the economic, monetary, and international problems which will come before the Conference at Ottawa.
- GRIGG, SIR EDWARD. *Leadership and action at Ottawa* (National review, June, 1932, pp. 711-719). A discussion of the Economic Conference.
- GUYOT, EDOUARD. *Qu'est-ce que l'empire représente pour l'Angleterre* (Europe nouvelle, 11 juin, 1932, pp. 743-744)? A comment on the value of the empire to England.
- Half-way to Ottawa* (Review of reviews, London, April, 1932, pp. 29-30). A discussion of the Economic Conference at Ottawa.
- HANČ, J. *Britská Magna Charta* (Zahraniční politika, XI (3), March, 1932, pp. 207-211). An article on the Statute of Westminster which points out the future dependence of the empire on economic factors.
- HORNE, SIR ROBERT. *The currency problem* (United Empire, XXIII (5), May, 1932, pp. 244-249). A discussion of the problem of currency, and of Canada's attitude towards an imperial currency.
- Imperial preference* (Economist, 4 juin, 1932, pp. 1228-1229). A discussion of how the Ottawa Conference may solve tariff problems.
- JASPAR, HENRI. *Londres ou Ottawa* (Revue générale, avril, 1932, pp. 493-501). The question is raised as to whether Great Britain will withdraw from European interests and unite her future with the dominions.
- JENKS, EDWARD. *The Statute of Westminster, 1931* (Quarterly review, 259 (513), July, 1932, pp. 95-114). A discussion of the Balfour declaration and the Statute of Westminster.

- KEITH, BERRIEDALE. *Notes on imperial constitutional law* (Journal of comparative legislation and international law, 3rd series, XIV (1), February, 1932, pp. 101-124). Notes on the Statute of Westminster, Canada and the provinces, appeal to the privy council, etc.
- KENNEDY, W. P. M. *The Statute of Westminster* (South Africa law times, January, 1932, pp. 16 ff.). A technical discussion of the implications of the Statute of Westminster by the Canadian legal correspondent of the *South Africa law times*.
- Three views of constitutional law (South Africa law times, February, 1932, pp. 33 ff.). A survey of recent tendencies in British constitutional law.
- KINGSMILL, WALTER. *Empire preference: An Australian view* (Empire review, 378, July, 1932, pp. 15-18). A brief statement of the case for imperial preference.
- KRANOLD, HERMANN. *Britisches und europäisches Imperium im Werden* (Sozialistische Monatshefte, March, 1932, pp. 206-217). A discussion of inter-imperial relations.
- LATHAM, J. G. *Australia and Ottawa* (United Empire, XXIII (5), May, 1932, pp. 262-266). A lecture by the attorney-general and minister for external affairs of Australia on how the Ottawa Conference is looked upon in Australia.
- LOVEDAY, W. H. *What an imperial central bank might do* (United Empire, XXIII (6), June, 1932, pp. 309-310). Some arguments in favour of an imperial central bank.
- LOWER, A. R. M. *Three centuries of empire trade* (Queen's quarterly, XXXIX (2), May, 1932, pp. 307-325). An examination of imperial trading relations during the last three centuries.
- MCARTHUR, D. *The Ottawa Conference* (Queen's quarterly, XXXIX (3), August, 1932, pp. 554-556). A note on some of the problems facing the Economic Conference at Ottawa.
- MACDONALD, Captain PETER. *Ottawa and the future of empire trade and currency* (Empire review, 378, July, 1932, pp. 7-14). A statement of the problem of imperial currency and an estimate of the importance of imperial monetary stability.
- MACKAY, ROBERT A. *The problem of a commonwealth tribunal* (Canadian bar review, X (6), June, 1932, pp. 338-348). A consideration of the need for an intra-commonwealth tribunal, with some practical problems and suggestions.
- MANN, FABIO. *La posizione dei dominions e dell' India nel Commonwealth britannico*. Rome: Soc. Editrice del Foro Italiano. Pp. 118. A discussion of the British Commonwealth.
- Migration and the Ottawa Conference* (United Empire, XXIII (8), August, 1932, pp. 465-470). A memorandum on the subject of empire migration and settlement prepared by a joint committee of the Parliamentary Migration Committee and the Empire Migration Committee in preparation for the Ottawa Conference.
- NAMBYAR, M. KRISHNAN. *The Statute of Westminster* (Modern review, 51 (2), February, 1932, pp. 137-141). An analysis of the statute.
- NATHAN, ROGER. *La politique économique de l'Angleterre et la préparation de la Conférence d'Ottawa* (Europe nouvelle, 2 avril, 1932, pp. 422-423). A discussion of arrangements for the forthcoming Conference at Ottawa.
- NEWMAN, E. W. POLSON. *Ottawa and British foreign trade* (Nineteenth century, CXI (664), June, 1932, pp. 641-656). A discussion of how foreign trading interests may be reconciled to imperial economic unity, with special reference to British trade with Argentina and Scandinavia.
- New Zealand, III. The Ottawa Conference* (Round table, no. 87, June, 1932, pp. 685-687). A brief statement of New Zealand's position at the Ottawa Conference.

- Ottawa* (Round table, no. 87, June, 1932, pp. 461-478). Salient features of the forthcoming Conference at Ottawa, under the headings: opportunities of the Conference, organization, and migration.
- PLUMPTRE, A. F. W. *To Ottawa* (Canadian comment, I (7), July, 1932, pp. 3-4). A brief consideration of the ties which bind the empire together.
- RODWELL, H. R. *Economic aspects of empire tariff preference* (Economic record, VIII (14), May, 1932, pp. 1-15). A criticism of the policy of a self-contained economic empire.
- SARGENT, A. J. *British industries and empire markets*. London: Empire Marketing Board. 1930. Pp. 58. An analysis of imperial and foreign markets and of their significance in the development of Great Britain's overseas trade.
- SEIFFERT, KONRAD. *Der Glaube an das Imperium* (Sozialistische Monatshefte, April, 1932, pp. 318-323). A consideration of the present imperial crisis of the British Empire and of the imperial idea.
- Statistical tables relating to British and foreign trade and industry (1924-1930)*. 2 volumes. London: H.M.S.O. 1931. Pp. 377; 511. One section deals with the trade of the empire.
- TALLENTS, SIR STEPHEN. *Projecting the empire* (United Empire, XXIII (6), June, 1932, pp. 323-328). An address by the secretary of the Empire Marketing Board on the necessity for imperial inter-communication and understanding.
- TROTTER, REGINALD G. *George Washington and the English-speaking heritage* (Queen's quarterly, XXXIX (2), May, 1932, pp. 297-306). A comparison of the old British Empire with the new.
- WILSON, ROLAND. *Australia and the Economic Conference* (Australian quarterly, March 14, 1932). A discussion of imperial preference and the forthcoming conference from an Australian point of view.

II. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

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- BOWMAN, ISALAH. *The pioneer fringe*. (American Geographical Society, special publication no. 13. Edited by G. M. WRIGLEY.) New York: American Geographical Society. 1931. Pp. ix, 361. To be reviewed later.
- DOUGHTY, ARTHUR G. *Under the lily and the rose*. 2 volumes. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. Pp. 161; 145. (\$100.00) A beautifully illustrated and charmingly written narrative of the history of Canada particularly intended for children.
- GEORGESON, C. C. *The possibilities of agricultural settlement in Alaska* (Pioneer settlement, American Geographical Society, special publication no. 14, pp. 50-60). A discussion of Alaska as a region of pioneer settlement, and of its agricultural resources and potentialities.
- GIBSON, WILLIAM. *Some further traces of the Franklin retreat* (Geographical journal, LXXIX (5), May, 1932, pp. 402-408). A narrative of an overland trip along the south coast of King William Island in 1931, to search for remains of members of the Franklin expedition.
- HOLDEN, NORAH. *A cross-section of Newfoundland* (Canadian geographical journal, V (1), July, 1932, pp. 39-50). A description of the south-eastern district of Newfoundland.

- JENNESS, DIAMOND. *Fifty years of archaeology in Canada* (Royal Society of Canada, *Fifty years retrospect*, anniversary volume, 1882-1932, pp. 71-76). A summary of the progress of archaeological investigations in the various provinces since 1882.
- LEBESON, ANITA LIBMAN. *Jewish pioneers in America, 1492-1848*. New York: Brentano's. 1931. Pp. x, 372. (\$4.00) A chronicle of the Jew in America and the part he has played in the settling and building of the New World. Very little regarding Canada. With illustrations and an excellent bibliography.
- MORRIS, LORD. *The finances of Newfoundland* (Financial review of reviews, February, 1932, pp. 4-5). An inquiry into Newfoundland's financial position.
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- SCHUILING, R. *Grønland* (Tijdschrift van het koninklijk nederlandsch aardrijkskundig Genootschap. Leyde, 2e. série, XLVIII, 1931, pp. 61-77). A descriptive article on Greenland.
- SIEBURG, FRIEDERICH. *Frankreichs rote Kinder*. Frankfurt-on-the-Main: Societäets Verlag. 1931. Pp. 91. (M. 3. 50) Reviewed on page 335.
- SMITH, EDWARD H. *The Marion expedition to Davis Strait and Baffin Bay, 1928. Scientific results*, part 3: *Arctic ice* (United States treasury department, Coast guard, bulletin no. 19.) Washington: Government Printing Office. 1931. Pp. x, 222. A bulletin containing the results of the author's eight years' experience with the international ice patrol.
- SOUTHWORTH, CONSTANT. *The French colonial venture*. London: P. S. King and Son. 1932. Pp. 216. (12s. 6d.) An appendix contrasts French with British colonial economic development.
- STAUNING, TH. *Min Grønlandsfoerd*. Copenhagen: Jespersen og Pios forlag. 1930. Pp. 139. A descriptive volume on Greenland.
- WATKINS, H. G. *The British Arctic air route expedition* (Geographical journal, LXXIX (5), May, 1932, pp. 353-367). The object of this expedition was to investigate the possibilities of an air route between England and Canada across the Arctic *via* the Faeroes, Iceland, Greenland, Baffin Island, and Hudson Bay. The article is to be continued.
- (2) **New France**
- A *propos de Madeleine de Verchères* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (8), August, 1932, pp. 506-512). Documents relating to the story of Madeleine de Verchères including the accounts given by La Potherie and Charlevoix.
- AUGUSTIN-THIERRY, A. *Un colonial au temps de Colbert: Mémoires de Robert Challes, écrivain du roi*. Paris: Librairie Plon. 1931. Pp. xxii, 301. (18 fr.) To be reviewed later.
- BIGGAR, H. P. *Frontenac's projected attempt on New York in 1689* (Quebec, V (5), June, 1930, pp. 98-101). The story of an episode in Frontenac's career in New France. The attempt was abandoned after the Iroquois "Massacre of Lachine".
- (ed.). *The works of Samuel de Champlain*. Volume IV. 1608-1620. Translated by H. H. LANGTON. The French text collated by J. HOME CAMERON. Toronto: The Champlain Society. 1932. Pp. xvi, 373. To be reviewed later.
- BONNAULT, CLAUDE de. *La Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement—Le Baron de Renty et le Canada* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (6), juin, 1932, pp. 323-352). An estimate of the importance of Gaston de Renty and La Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement to the early history of French Canada.

- BOWKER, S. W., jr., and RUSSELL, J. A. *The background of Longfellow's Evangeline* (Queen's quarterly, XXXIX (3), August, 1932, pp. 489-494). An account of the sources from which Longfellow drew his material for his story of *Evangeline* and the dispersion of the Acadians.
- Une branche de la famille Carrier* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (5), mai, 1932, pp. 257-262). Genealogical notes.
- CANDIDE de Nant, R. P. *Autour des pages glorieuses de l'épopée canadienne*. Réponse à l'abbé Couillard-Després. Toulouse: Les frères Douladoure. 1931. Pp. 24. A controversial pamphlet dealing with Latour and Acadia.
- CHESNEL, PAUL. *History of the Cavalier de la Salle, 1643-1687: Explorations in the valleys of the Ohio, Illinois and Mississippi*. Translated from the French by ANDRÉE CHESNEL MEANY. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1932. Pp. vii, 232. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.
- Conseil entre les sauvages d'Amesouenty et M. de Beaucharnois* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (7), juillet, 1932, pp. 447-448). Dated Quebec, May 12, 1704. From the archives of the Province of Quebec.
- COUILLARD-DESPRÉS, A. *Charles de Saint-Etienne de La Tour, gouverneur en Acadie 1593-1606. Au tribunal de l'histoire*. Saint-Hyacinthe: Imprimerie du Courrier. 1932. Pp. 93. This little volume—an attack on a reply of Mr. Lauvrière—is the fourth one by the Abbé Couillard-Després in his crusade to explain away the many changes of allegiance of Charles de La Tour, against the supporters of Aulnay de Charnizay. There is nothing in this pamphlet which is not already found in the author's main work: *Charles de Saint-Etienne de la Tour et son temps* and it cannot be read without constant referring to previous publications bearing on this feud. Feud it is indeed, and it is to be regretted that both M. Lauvrière and the Abbé Couillard-Després should treat an historical question with so much personal animus. It results only in biasing their views and spoiling their work which in other respects has been most useful to Acadian history by digging up important new documents. (GUSTAVE LANCTÔT)
- La famille Bergevin dit Langevin* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (7), juillet, 1932, pp. 385-393). Genealogical and biographical notes.
- GROULX, LIONEL. *Le dossier de Dollard: Le valeur des sources, la grandeur du dessein, la grandeur des résultats*. (Le document, collection de textes, publiés à intervalles irréguliers, par *Le Devoir* de Montréal, no. 11, mai, 1932.) Montréal: L'Imprimerie Populaire Ltée. 1932. Pp. 18. An authoritative defence of Dollard des Ormeaux and of the value of his defence of Montreal to the existence of the colony.
- JÉGO, R. P. J.-B. *Le drame du peuple acadien*. Dépositaires: R. P. A. Etienne, Collège Ste-Anne, Church Point, N.S., ou R. P. Joseph Thomas, Collège du Sacré-Cœur, Bathurst, N.B. (50 cents) An historical reconstruction of the dispersion of the Acadians.
- LAHONTAN, Baron de. *Dialogues curieux entre l'auteur et un sauvage de bon sens qui a voyagé et Mémoires de l'Amérique Septentrionale* publiés par GILBERT CHINARD. Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins Press; Paris: A. Margraff; Oxford University Press. 1931. Pp. 268. (100 fr). To be reviewed later.
- LEACOCK, STEPHEN. *Baron de Lahontan, explorer* (Canadian geographical journal, IV (5), May, 1932, pp. 281-294). An account of Lahontan's career and explorations, with numerous reproductions of interesting old prints and maps.
- LE JEUNE, LOUIS. *Le chevalier Pierre Le Moyné, sieur d'Iberville* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, II (3), juillet-septembre, 1932, pp. 316-334). A genealogy of Iberville's family and notes on his character and career.
- Les Juchereau Duchesnay* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (7), juillet, 1932, pp. 407-416). Biographical and genealogical notes.

- Lettre du Chevalier de Villebon (1er octobre, 1695)* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (8), August, 1932, pp. 500-505). A letter relating to affairs in Acadia transcribed from the archives of the Province of Quebec.
- MCCULLOUGH, CHARLES R. *Wolfe and Montcalm* (Quebec, V (8), September, 1930, pp. 170-174). Notes on the careers of Wolfe and Montcalm and anecdotes of the Battle of the Plains of Abraham.
- MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *Le droit de patronage* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (5), mai, 1932, pp. 280-281). A note on a phase of the seigniorial system in New France.
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- Le jardinage à Montréal dans le bon vieux temps* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (7), juillet, 1932, pp. 394-399). Notes on kitchen- and market-gardening in early Montreal.
- Mémoire pour la découverte de la Mer de l'Ouest, dressé et présenté en avril, 1718, par Bobe, prêtre de la Congrégation de la Mission (joint à sa lettre du 31 janvier 1722)* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (8), August, 1932, pp. 475-496). A memoir pertaining to the search for the western sea. From the archives of la marine, Paris. Copy in the provincial archives of Quebec.
- LOUDARD, GEORGE. *Four cents an acre: The story of Louisiana under the French*. Translated by MARGERY BIANO. New York: Brewer and Warren. 1931. Pp. 316. To be reviewed later.
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- Vieille Amérique: La Louisiane au temps des français*. Paris: Librairie Plon. 1931. Pp. 305. (18 fr.)
- RIDDELL, W. R. *Historical medicine: Sidelights on disease in French Canada before the conquest* (Medical journal and record, 134, August 5, 1931, pp. 143-145). A brief medical history of New France. With a bibliography.
- Simon-Pierre de Bonaventure* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (7), juillet, 1932, p. 437). Biographical facts about Denys de Bonaventure who accompanied Iberville on several expeditions.
- SMITH, G. OSWALD. *Virgil as the poet of the emigrant* (Queen's quarterly, XXXIX (3), August, 1932, pp. 392-401). A comparison between the followers of Aeneas and the early founders of Canada.
- Les Taché* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (5), mai, 1932, pp. 297-300). A genealogy of the Taché family.
- VILLIERS, Le Baron MARC de. *L'expédition de Cavelier de la Salle dans le Golfe du Mexique (1684-1687)*. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient—Adrien-Maisonneuve. 1931. Pp. 235. (80 fr.) To be reviewed later.
- (3) British North America before 1867**
- AUDET, FRANCIS-J. *Benjamin Price* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (6), juin, 1932, pp. 354-355). A biographical note. Benjamin Price was a merchant in Quebec after the conquest.
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- Thomas Nye* (Revue du droit, X (9), mai, 1932, pp. 549-554). A biography of a member of the bar of Lower Canada in the nineteenth century.
- AYRE, ROBERT. *When the railway came to Canada* (Queen's quarterly, XXXIX (2), May, 1932, pp. 274-290). The story of the Champlain and St. Lawrence Railway.
- BARRY, J. NEILSON. *Columbia River exploration, 1792, II* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXIII (2), June, 1932, pp. 143-155). The continuation of a journal presenting a narrative of British exploration of the lower Columbia River under Lieutenant William R. Broughton.

- BOND, BEVERLEY W. *American civilization comes to the old northwest* (Mississippi valley historical review, XIX (1), June, 1932, pp. 3-29). This paper on the material and cultural development of the old north-west was given as the presidential address before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in 1932.
- BRADLEY, A. G. *The United Empire Loyalists, founders of British Canada*. London: Thornton Butterworth, 1932. Pp. 280. (\$5.00) Reviewed on page 325.
- CLARK, JANE (ed.). *The Convention troops and the perfidy of Sir William Howe* (American historical review, XXXVII (4), July, 1932, pp. 721-723). A letter from Sir William Howe to General Burgoyne which has recently been found in the Sir Henry Clinton papers at the William L. Clements library.
- CLARK, ROBERT C. *Harvey Basin exploration, 1826-60* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXIII (2), June, 1932, pp. 101-114). An account of explorations in a section of Oregon by Peter Skene Ogden, John Work, and others.
- ELLIOTT, T. C. *David Thompson's journeys in the Pend Oreille country* (Washington historical quarterly, XXIII (2), April, 1932, pp. 88-93). This is the second of three journals kept by David Thompson, and runs from April 24 to May 1, 1810.
- ENGLISH, SARA JOHN. *Illinois debt to soldiers of War of 1812—and honor roll of 1812 soldiers who are buried in Morgan County, Illinois* (Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, XXIV (4), January, 1932, pp. 630-653). A rather jingoistic version of the War of 1812 in the north-west.
- FAUTEUX, ÆGIDIUS. *Un canadien à la cour de Bavière en 1820* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (5), mai, 1932, pp. 266-270). Among the papers of the financier, Samuel Gerrard, in the Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice in Montreal, Mr. Fauteux has discovered correspondence, dated 1821 to 1824, between him and Joseph Jolly, "pâtissier" of the court of Bavaria.
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- GOWER, R. H. G. LEVESON. *Philip Turnor: A little known Hudson's Bay Company surveyor* (Beaver, no. 1, June, 1932, pp. 21-23). A brief sketch of the life and explorations of Philip Turnor an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company from 1778 to 1794.
- HOWAY, F. W. *Maclauries' travels through America: A pirated account of Alexander Mackenzie's voyages* (Washington historical quarterly, XXIII (2), April, 1932, pp. 83-87). In the public library at Seattle and in the Library of Congress, there is found a volume entitled *Journal of travels through the north-west continent of America* by Mr. Maclauries, which is a bare-faced plagiarism of Sir Alexander Mackenzie's *Voyages*.
- JOHNSON, E. A. J. *American economic thought in the seventeenth century*. London: P. S. King and Son, 1932. Pp. xi, 292. (12s.) Contains an analysis of English and American theories of colonization. With a bibliography of the more important books and source materials on early American economic thought.
- Joseph Brant—Thayendanegea*. By a Canadian contributor (United Empire, XXIII (8), August, 1932, pp. 449-451). A biographical account of Joseph Brant.
- LEMIEUX, RODOLPHE. *The great champions of responsible government in Canada* (Quebec, V (1), February, 1930, pp. 1-6). An account of the work of Durham, Elgin, Baldwin, and Lafontaine.
- *La Fontaine, father of responsible government in Canada* (Quebec, V (12), January, 1931, pp. 268-271). An eulogy of the life, work, and character of Sir Louis Hippolyte La Fontaine.

- Lettre de l'Abbé Robin à l'hon. Louis de Salaberry* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (5), mai, 1932, pp. 318-319). A letter dated Quebec, January 23, 1799, the original of which is in the Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice.
- Lettre de l'Hon. L.-J. Papineau à John Neilson* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (7), juillet, 1932, pp. 440-442). A letter dated January 31, 1828.
- Lettre de L.-J. Papineau à Hector-S. Huot* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (5), mai, 1932, pp. 282-293). A letter from Papineau dated April 9, 1835, in answer to the invitation of the "Chambre d'Assemblée résidents dans Québec" to accept the mission of going to England to state the cause of the habitants before the imperial parliament. The original letter is in the Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice in Montreal.
- Lettre de Louis Guy, président du comité constitutionnel de Montréal aux comités des comtés* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (7), juillet, 1932, pp. 443-446). A letter, dated July 10, 1823, stating the political requests of the comité constitutionnel de Montréal.
- Lettres de l'Abbé J.-B. Curatteau à son frère* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (6), juin, 1932, pp. 356-380). Letters written between 1778 and 1789 which throw light on conditions in Canada after the conquest.
- [MACKENZIE, ALEXANDER.] *Alexander Mackenzie's voyage to the Pacific Ocean in 1793* Historical introduction and footnotes by MILO MILTON QUAIFFÉ. Chicago: The Lakeside Press. 1931. Pp. 384. A beautiful edition, well printed and bound, containing a map, a picture of Alexander Mackenzie, and an index.
- MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *Un immeuble pour un secret* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (6), juin, pp. 381-383). A note on one Antoine Hamel of Quebec in the second half of the eighteenth century.
- MERK, FREDERICK. *British party politics and the Oregon Treaty* (American historical review, XXXVII (4), July, 1932, pp. 653-677). An analysis of the Oregon negotiation of 1846 from the point of view of British party politics.
- MOEHLMAN, ARTHUR HENRY (ed.). *A journey to the forks of the Red River of the north in 1860: The journal of Ensign J. H. Bond, Royal Canadian Rifles* (North Dakota historical quarterly, VI (3), April, 1932, pp. 231-238). A contemporary account of transportation in the Red River country in the description of a journey from Kingston to Fort Garry.
- MOFFETT, EDNA V. (ed.). *The diary of a private on the first expedition to Crown Point* (New England quarterly, V (3), July, 1932, pp. 602-618). An accurate narrative of James Hill's service as a private in 1755 under William Johnson.
- Napoléon-Dominique Saint-Cyr* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (5), mai, pp. 273-279). A biographical sketch of a distinguished French-Canadian naturalist of the 19th century.
- The papers of Sir William Johnson*. Prepared for publication by the division of archives and history, ALEXANDER C. FLICK, director and state historian; volume VII. Albany: The University of the State of New York. 1931. Pp. xiii, 1160. Reviewed on page 332.
- PAXSON, FREDERIC L. *Washington and the western fronts, 1753-1795* (Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, XXIV (4), January, 1932, pp. 589-605). An address on the significance of the western front, the open border, and its problems, in the shaping of George Washington's character and career.
- SISSONS, C. B. *Two events of 1832* (University of Toronto monthly, XXXII (7), April, 1932, pp. 265-275). Some interesting observations on the social, political, and religious conditions under which Victoria College was founded in Cobourg, Ontario, in 1832.

STACEY, C. P. (ed.). *An American account of the Prescott raid of 1838* (Canadian defence quarterly, IX (3), April, 1932, pp. 393-398). An account apparently written by a United States officer, taken from the *Army and navy chronicle* for November 29, 1838, of the raid on Prescott in November, 1838.

TUNEM, ALFRED. *The dispute over the San Juan Islands water boundary* (Washington historical quarterly, XXIII (2), April, 1932, pp. 133-137). Continued from volume XXIII, page 46. This section deals with the trouble which arose between the United States officials and the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Island of San Juan.

WALPOLE, K. A. *The humanitarian movement of the early nineteenth century to remedy abuses on emigrant vessels to America* (Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 4th series, XIV, pp. 197-224). An important chapter in the history of emigration.

WESLEY, EDGAR B. *Some official aspects of the fur trade in the northwest, 1815-1825* (North Dakota historical quarterly, VI (3), April, 1932, pp. 201-209). A discussion of the control of the fur trade by the government of the United States during the period 1815-1825.

(4) The Dominion of Canada

BISHOP, CHARLES. *Some aspects of parliamentary government in Canada: Constitutional development* (Quebec, V (2), March, 1930, pp. 26-28). A résumé of constitutional development since 1867.

BURON, EDMOND. *Où va le Canada* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, II (3), juillet-septembre, 1932, pp. 298-315). A forcible discussion of the constitutional and national development of Canada in the British Commonwealth.

Canada—1932. Ottawa: Dominion bureau of statistics. 1932. A useful little handbook of miscellaneous information.

Canada I. The session (Round table, no. 87, June, 1932, pp. 612-620). A review of the second session of the seventeenth federal parliament of the Dominion of Canada.

Canada's railway problem (Canadian unionist, V (10), March, 1932, pp. 176-177, 185-186). Brief submitted by the Canadian brotherhood of railway employees to the royal commission on transportation, Ottawa, February 15, 1932.

CHACKO, CHIRAKAKARAN JOSEPH. *The International Joint Commission between the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1932. Pp. 431. (\$5.50) To be reviewed later.

DEXTER, GRANT. *Commerce and the Canadian constitution* (Queen's quarterly, XXXIX (2), May, 1932, pp. 250-260). An outline of the business phase of the constitutional question in Canada, and of the dominion-provincial battle over the control of industrial activities.

DIBELIUS, DR. *Das Nationalitätsproblem in Kanada* (Auslandsstudien, V, 1930). In the series of lectures delivered at the University of Königsberg in 1929 on the British Empire there was one by the late Dr. Dibelius entitled "Das Nationalitätsproblem in Kanada". This, and the others have been published (in abbreviated form) in a volume entitled *Auslandsstudien*, vol. 5, *Das englische Weltreich* (Gräfe & Unger, Königsberg, 1930). In dealing with the Germans in Canada Dr. Dibelius again placed their number at 200,000, which is probably 300,000 too few. He estimates those born in Germany in 1921 at only 25,000. England, he said, can no longer supply enough emigrants, and Canada is faced with the problem where to get her immigrants from. In the meantime the world economic crisis has solved the problem, if one may use such a paradox, by saddling the dominion with about three-quarters of a million unemployed. (L. HAMILTON)

FERGUSON, GEORGE HOWARD. *Canada's confidence. The foundations of prosperity* (Financial review of reviews, February, 1932, pp. 2-4). A declaration of faith in Canada by the Canadian high commissioner in London.

Généalogie de Sir Wilfrid Laurier (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (6), juin, 1932, pp. 321-322). A genealogical note.

HÁJEK, JOSEF. *Dějiny kanadských Čechoslováků* (Nase Zahranicí, (5), November, 1931, pp. 211-214). A history of the Canadian Czechoslovaks.

INNIS, HAROLD A. *Government ownership in Canada* (Verein für Sozialpolitik, Schriften, 176 (3), 1931, pp. 241-279). A study of the policy of government ownership of railways in Canada.

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immediately with the life of the pioneer. Some of these passages possess genuine interest, the most valuable element in the book being a certain amount of first-hand information regarding the bands of colonists who left the Parry Sound district in Ontario in 1892 and 1894 to settle in the neighbourhood of Edmonton, Alberta. An English reader knowing little of Canada would gain from the book a miscellany of information about the west, but it does not contain much of value for the serious student. (MORDEN H. LONG)

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VI. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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